

BOB JONES *University*

LIBRARY

Greenville, South Carolina

The fact that this volume is included in the Bob Jones University Library does not mean that the University endorses its contents from the standpoint of morals, philosophy, theology, or scientific hypotheses. The position of Bob Jones University on these subjects is well known.

In order to standardize the work and validate the credits of Bob Jones University it is sometimes necessary to include in this library books whose contents the University cannot wholly endorse.

DATE DUE

~~FEB 14 2 1999~~

~~DEC 23 2002~~

GAYLORD

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

675/1

FLORENTINE
FRESCOES



PLATE 1.—GIOTTO: ST. FRANCIS AND THE IMPOVERISHED NOBLEMAN
Assisi, San Francesco.

FLORENTINE FREScoes

By
TANCRED BORENIUS, PH.D., D.LIT.
Durning-Lawrence Professor of the History of Art
in the University of London

759.5
B6445

VALARDO
PUBLIC LIBRARY

LONDON: T. C. & E. C. JACK, LTD.
35 AND 36 PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.;
AND EDINBURGH

O.P. DEALER
Approval needed
to discard

BEALE

MACK LIBRARY
Bob Jones University
Greenville, SC

759.5
B73

KALAMAZOO
PUBLIC LIBRARY

CONTENTS

SECTION I

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

CHAP.	PAGE
I. THE PREDECESSORS OF GIOTTO	3
II. GIOTTO	11
III. FLORENTINE FOURTEENTH CENTURY PAINTERS AFTER GIOTTO	30

SECTION II

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

I. MASACCIO.	43
II. OLDER AND YOUNGER CONTEMPORARIES OF MASACCIO	54
III. FLORENTINE PAINTERS OF THE MIDDLE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY	72
IV. FLORENTINE PAINTERS OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY	84

SECTION III

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

I. LEONARDO DA VINCI	105
II. MICHELANGELO	112
III. LATER FLORENTINE PAINTERS OF THE MATURE RENAISSANCE	117

LIST OF PLATES

PLATE	PAGE
1. GIOTTO: ST. FRANCIS AND THE IMPOVERISHED NOBLEMAN. Assisi, San Francesco (Colour).	Frontispiece
2. ROMAN SCHOOL (c. 850): THE ASCENSION. Rome, Lower Church of San Clemente.	6
3. PIETRO CAVALLINI: THE LAST JUDGMENT (Detail). Rome, Santa Cecilia.	8
4. CIMABUE: THE CRUCIFIXION. Assisi, San Francesco	10
5. GIOTTO: ST. FRANCIS CAUSES A SPRING TO FLOW MIRACULOUSLY. Assisi, San Francesco	14
6. GIOTTO: THE CELEBRATION OF CHRISTMAS AT GRECCIO. Assisi, San Francesco	16
7. GIOTTO: ST. FRANCIS BEFORE POPE HONORIUS III. Assisi, San Francesco. (Colour)	18
8. GIOTTO: THE DEATH OF THE KNIGHT OF CELANO. Assisi, San Francesco.	20
9. GIOTTO: (a) ST. FRANCIS RENOUNCING HIS INHERITANCE. Assisi, San Francesco. (b) SAME SUBJECT. Florence, Santa Croce	20
10. (a) PIETRO CAVALLINI: THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE. Rome, Santa Maria in Trastevere. (b) GIOTTO: SAME SUBJECT. Padua, Santa Maria dell' Arena	22
11. GIOTTO: THE VISITATION. Padua, Santa Maria dell' Arena	24
12. GIOTTO: THE WAIT OF THE SUITORS OF THE VIRGIN. Padua, Santa Maria dell' Arena	26
13. GIOTTO: THE LAMENTATION OVER THE DEAD CHRIST. Padua, Santa Maria dell' Arena. (Colour)	26
14. GIOTTO: NOLI ME TANGERE. Padua, Santa Maria dell' Arena. (Colour)	28
15. GIOTTO: THE ASCENSION. Padua, Santa Maria dell' Arena. (Colour)	28
16. GIOTTO: THE BANQUET OF HEROD (Detail). Florence, Santa Croce. (Colour)	30
17. GIOTTO: THE RAISING OF DRUSIANA. Florence, Santa Croce	30
18. GIOTTO: THE ASSUMPTION OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST. Florence, Santa Croce	30
19. TADDEO GADDI: THE ANNOUNCEMENT TO THE SHEPHERDS. Florence, Santa Croce	32
20. BERNARDO DADDI: THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. STEPHEN. Florence, Santa Croce	32
21. MASO: THE LEGEND OF ST. SYLVESTER. Florence, Santa Croce	34
22. ANDREA BONAIUTI: THE CHURCH MILITANT (Detail). Florence, Spanish Chapel, Santa Maria Novella. (Colour)	36
23. ANDREA BONAIUTI: THE HARROWING OF HELL. Florence, Spanish Chapel, Santa Maria Novella. (Colour)	36
24. AGNOLO GADDI: THE LEGEND OF THE TRUE CROSS. Florence, Santa Croce	38
25. SPINELLO ARETINO: POPE ALEXANDER III. RETURNING TO ROME. Palazzo Pubblico, Siena	40

LIST OF PLATES

PLATE	PAGE
26. MASACCIO: THE EXPULSION FROM PARADISE. Florence, Brancacci Chapel, Santa Maria del Carmine. (<i>Colour</i>)	48
27. MASACCIO: THE TRIBUTE MONEY. Florence, Brancacci Chapel, Santa Maria del Carmine	48
28. MASACCIO: THE TRIBUTE MONEY (Detail). Florence, Brancacci Chapel, Santa Maria del Carmine. (<i>Colour</i>)	50
29. MASACCIO: SS. PETER AND JOHN CURING THE INFIRM WITH THEIR SHADOWS. Florence, Brancacci Chapel, Santa Maria del Carmine	50
30. MASACCIO: ST. PETER BAPTIZING. Florence, Brancacci Chapel, Santa Maria del Carmine	50
31. MASOLINO: ADAM AND EVE. Florence, Brancacci Chapel, Santa Maria del Carmine	52
32. MASOLINO: ST. PETER RESTORING TABITHA TO LIFE (Detail). Florence, Brancacci Chapel, Santa Maria del Carmine. (<i>Colour</i>)	52
33. FRA ANGELICO: THE CRUCIFIXION. Florence, San Marco. (<i>Colour</i>)	54
34. FRA ANGELICO: THE ANNUNCIATION. Florence, San Marco. (<i>Colour</i>)	56
35. FRA ANGELICO: THE MOCKING OF CHRIST. Florence, San Marco. (<i>Colour</i>)	58
36. FRA ANGELICO: THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN. Florence, San Marco. (<i>Colour</i>)	58
37. FRA ANGELICO: THE CRUCIFIXION. Paris, Louvre. (<i>Colour</i>)	60
38. PAOLO UCCELLO: THE DELUGE. Florence, Chiostro Verde, Santa Maria Novella	60
39. PAOLO UCCELLO: SIR JOHN HAWKWOOD. Florence Cathedral	62
40. ANDREA DEL CASTAGNO: THE LAST SUPPER. Florence, Sant' Apollonia. (<i>Colour</i>)	62
41. ANDREA DEL CASTAGNO: NICCOLÒ DA TOLENTINO. Florence Cathedral	64
42. ANDREA DEL CASTAGNO: DANTE AND PETRARCH. Florence, Sant' Apollonia. (<i>Colour</i>)	66
43. ANDREA DEL CASTAGNO: PIPPO SPANO. Florence, Sant' Apollonia	66
44. FRA FILIPPO LIPPI: THE BANQUET OF HEROD. Prato Cathedral.	70
45. PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA: THE VICTORY OF CONSTANTINE OVER MAXENTIUS (Detail). Arezzo, San Francesco. (<i>Colour</i>)	74
46. ALESSO BALDOVINETTI: THE NATIVITY. Florence, SS. Annunziata	76
47. ANTONIO DEL POLLAIUOLO: TWO ANGELS. Florence, San Miniato al Monte	78
48. BENOZZO GOZZOLI: THE CELEBRATION OF CHRISTMAS AT GRECCIO. Montefalco, San Francesco	80
49. BENOZZO GOZZOLI: ANGELS IN ADORATION. Florence, Palazzo Riccardi	80
50. BENOZZO GOZZOLI: THE CAVALCADE OF THE MAGI. Florence, Palazzo Riccardi	82
51. BENOZZO GOZZOLI: ST. AUGUSTINE TEACHING PHILOSOPHY IN ROME. San Gimignano, Sant' Agostino. (<i>Colour</i>)	82
52. COSIMO ROSSELLI: THE LAST SUPPER. Rome, Sistine Chapel	86
53. SANDRO BOTTICELLI: ST. AUGUSTINE. Florence, Ognissanti. (<i>Colour</i>)	88
54. SANDRO BOTTICELLI: THE YOUTH OF MOSES. Rome, Sistine Chapel	90
55. SANDRO BOTTICELLI: LORENZO TORNABUONI AND THE LIBERAL ARTS. Paris, Louvre. (<i>Colour</i>)	92

LIST OF PLATES

PLATE	PAGE
56. SANDRO BOTTICELLI : GIOVANNA DEGLI ALBIZZI, VENUS AND THE THREE GRACES. Paris, Louvre. (<i>Colour</i>)	92
57. FILIPPINO LIPPI : SS. PETER AND PAUL BEFORE NERO (Detail). Florence, Brancacci Chapel, Santa Maria del Carmine. (<i>Colour</i>).	94
58. FILIPPINO LIPPI : THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN. Rome, Santa Maria Sopra Minerva .	96
59. DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO : ST. JEROME. Florence, Ognissanti. (<i>Colour</i>)	98
60. BASTIANO MAINARDI : THE ANNUNCIATION. San Gimignano, Collegiata. (<i>Colour</i>) . .	98
61. DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO : THE SACRIFICE OF ZACHARIAS. Florence, Santa Maria Novella	100
62. DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO : THE BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN. Florence, Santa Maria Novella	100
63. DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO : THE VISITATION. Florence, Santa Maria Novella	102
64. AFTER LEONARDO DA VINCI : THE BATTLE OF THE STANDARD. Florence, Uffizi . . .	110
65. AFTER MICHELANGELO : (a) THE "GUERRA DI PISA." Holkham Hall, Collection of the Earl of Leicester. (b) LES GRIMPEURS. Engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi (B. 487)	114
66. ANDREA DEL SARTO : THE NATIVITY OF THE VIRGIN. Florence, SS. Annunziata. (<i>Colour</i>)	120
67. ANDREA DEL SARTO : THE MADONNA DEL SACCO. Florence, SS. Annunziata	120
68. ANDREA DEL SARTO : THE LAST SUPPER. Florence, San Salvi. (<i>Colour</i>)	122
69. FRANCIABIGIO : THE MARRIAGE OF THE VIRGIN. Florence, SS. Annunziata. (<i>Colour</i>) .	122
70. ROSSO : THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN. Florence, SS. Annunziata	124
71. PONTORMO : THE VISITATION. Florence, SS. Annunziata. (<i>Colour</i>)	124
72. PONTORMO : POMONA AND VERTUMNUS. Poggio a Caiano	126
73. AGNOLO BRONZINO : THE BRAZEN SERPENT. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio	126

SECTION I
THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

Chapter I

THE PREDECESSORS OF GIOTTO

Vasari's account of Cimabue—The rise of art in Florence—The great Mediæval school of painting in Rome—Pietro Cavallini—The historical Cimabue—The frescoes in the choir and transepts of the Upper Church of San Francesco at Assisi.

FEW dramatic simplifications of the complex facts and processes of history are as effective as the one with which Vasari begins his *Life of Cimabue*, which stands at the head of his great work on the artists of Italy. We open it, and on the first page we read : “ The overwhelming flood of evils by which unhappy Italy had been submerged and devastated had not only destroyed whatever could properly be called buildings, but, a still more deplorable consequence, had totally exterminated the artists themselves, when, by the will of God, in the year 1240, Giovanni Cimabue, of the noble family of that name, was born in the city of Florence, to give light to the art of painting.” As a summing up of the history of Italian art down to the middle of the thirteenth century, this passage must of course at all times have been palpably absurd, and one has but to read a few pages farther on in Vasari himself to find it given the lie to. Still, stated thus impressively by the writer whose work has laid the foundations of Italian art history for all time to come, Vasari's view cannot fail to be a matter of some moment to us ; and, of course, any opinion, however sweepingly or exaggeratedly expressed, may contain at any rate a kernel of truth. Anybody attempting to trace the development of Florentine painting down to the sixteenth century therefore finds himself under the necessity of taking up a position with regard to the problems suggested by the claim for Cimabue advanced by Vasari. What do we know of Florentine painting before Cimabue ? How does it compare with contemporary pictorial output

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

elsewhere in Italy? And what do we, finally, know of Cimabue himself as an artist?

In the first place, it has to be borne in mind that the rise of Florence to economic and political prominence was a very slow one. Her history in the days of Ancient Rome is quite undistinguished; and it was not until the Carolingian era was virtually at an end that Florence began to acquire importance even as a trading centre. It is therefore not surprising that, so far as the evidence of existing monuments goes, Florence can only be said to begin to count artistically with the advent of the eleventh century. On the other hand, in the remarkable architectural activity which we can trace as commencing all over Tuscany during that century, Florence took no small part: as the principal witness of which there still stands, on one of the hills above the city, the basilica of San Miniato. The façade of this church was doubtless taken in hand soon after the completion of the remainder of the building in 1062. There is something most extraordinarily impressive in its cool marble grandeur, whites and blacks being contrasted in the revetment all through the design, which is absolutely perfect in its noble simplicity and consummate sense of rhythmic disposition. Indeed, it is not difficult to sympathize with Jacob Burckhardt in his remark that San Miniato sums up the whole of Italy's pre-Gothic artistic powers in so brilliant a fashion that one is almost tempted to deplore the subsequent importation of the Gothic style from the North.

Meanwhile, as regards painting, the only inference at present possible is that it must have been a plant of very slow growth in Florence. It is true that there is no lack of records of Florentine painters reaching as far back as the eleventh century; and it stands to reason that subsequent ages in a city so crowded with painters must have witnessed a great deal of destruction of early mosaics, frescoes, and altar-pieces. Still, the significant fact remains that—leaving out of consideration for the moment other artistic centres in Italy—we can, in spite of Reformers and Puritans, form a clearer idea of Romanesque painting in Canterbury than in Florence. The earliest surviving examples of pictorial art which may with some degree of probability be associated with Florence are a couple of crucifixes dating from the end of the twelfth century.¹ When we cross into the thirteenth century the picture, however, changes. At first it is mainly a

¹ Among lost Florentine paintings of early date we can definitely point to an altar-piece of 1191, the work of one Marchisello of Florence, which in the fifteenth century was still to be seen in the Church of San Tommaso at Florence. Among the earliest Florentine painters known to fame was one Rustico, mentioned in 1066.

THE PREDECESSORS OF GIOTTO

question of mosaics. And the first work of prime importance to be noticed in this connection is the imposing series of mosaics, still strictly Byzantinizing in character, decorating the apse of the Baptistery—an elaborate scheme, incorporating figures of the Virgin and Child, St. John the Baptist, the twelve apostles, prophets and patriarchs, etc. These mosaics we know, from the signature of the artist, Jacobus, a Franciscan friar, to have been completed in 1225. As soon as we get past the middle of the century we then also come upon surviving indubitably Florentine panel pictures in increasing numbers ; and we may here note that this is a category of pictorial production which elsewhere in Tuscany (*e.g.* Siena, Lucca, and Pisa) is plentifully represented already much earlier. Enough has been said to indicate that for a Florentine painter of the second half of the thirteenth century such as Cimabue, there was a sufficiency of artistic tradition to link up with in Florence ; though in his case, as we shall see, historical evidence points to his association with another, and at the time much more important, centre of art than Florence.

Outside Tuscany, pictorial activity had been considerable in many centres in Italy from the earliest periods of the Middle Ages onwards ; but nowhere more so than in Rome and the surrounding district. The reconstruction of the work of the Roman school of painting in the Middle Ages has been a labour of the last two or three generations of scholars, until we can now more or less clearly take in the whole of this imposing sequence of artistic movements from century to century—a whole world of art, indeed, of which scarcely a faint reflection can be traced in the pages of Vasari. An unbroken line of descent from Classical and early Christian art first takes us down to that great work of the Roman School of the eighth century, the series of frescoes in the Church of Santa Maria Antiqua in the Forum, in which at the same time the influences from Byzantine art are very pronounced.¹ There follows the period of Carolingian art ; and here the work deserving to be singled out for mention before all others is a series of frescoes in the Lower Church of San Clemente, which may be

¹ The term *fresco* here used demands a word of explanation. *Fresco*—or, more fully, *buon fresco*—denotes the technique whereby wall paintings are mainly carried out in pigments, mixed with water, on the plaster (of sand and lime), while still wet ("fresco"). It was the technique preponderantly used in Italy for wall decorations all through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, though, as we shall see, occasional more or less experimental and exceptional departures were made from it, and the practice of retouching the fresco when set (*a secco*) is of long standing—ultramarine, for example, was always applied *a secco* with an egg vehicle. English mediæval wall paintings, on the other hand, though often loosely termed frescoes, were executed in a radically different technique, on the plaster *after* it had set, the pigments never penetrating very deeply into the plaster.

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

dated in the reign of Pope Leo IV. (847-55) from the presence in one of them of a portrait of that Pope, shown with a square nimbus indicating a living person. The fresco in question is indeed the most important in the series, and represents the Ascension of Christ in the presence of a gathering of people whose amazement at the miraculous event witnessed by them is expressed in a singularly direct and striking fashion (Plate 2). The vivid dramatic note here struck is indeed one which we can trace all through the manifestations of Carlovingian art in the different countries of Europe ; the principal surviving expression of these tendencies being the famous MS. of the Psalms, now in the University Library at Utrecht, and for that reason usually referred to as the Utrecht Psalter. As a matter of fact, however, it is a production of the school of MS. illumination at Rheims, which was one of the principal centres of that art during the Carlovingian era : and as to its date, it may be put about 820-30 ; that is, just a little before the period of the San Clemente *Ascension*. The numerous pen-and-ink drawings (not illuminations properly speaking) of the Utrecht Psalter bring before us a series of compositions of unsurpassed dramatic intensity, and indeed violence ; and the spirit which informs that art is exactly what we find in the fresco of the unknown Roman artist, who at the same time never for a moment loses sight of the exigencies of monumental design. For these dramatic tendencies of Carlovingian art, the subject of the Ascension offered, of course, a particularly suitable outlet ; and students of Mediæval illumination will not need to be reminded of the impressive interpretation of the scene, given in one of the illustrations decorating that great work of the early Winchester school of illumination, the Benedictional of St. Æthelwold, now in the library of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth, written and probably also decorated by the monk Godeman about 975-80.

It would take us beyond the scope of the present inquiry to follow the development of the school of Mediæval painting in Rome step by step. It must suffice for our purpose to emphasize its vitality and continuity from century to century, as illustrated by a surprisingly large number of extant examples either in Rome itself or in the neighbouring districts of the patrimony of St. Peter. Barely to mention a few of the most important works, for the eleventh century we have the frescoes in the Church of Sant' Elia, near Nepi, in the wilds of the Ciminian country almost due north of Rome, and the series of subjects from the legends of SS. Clement and Alexis, painted on the walls of the Lower Church of San Clemente at Rome, probably



PLATE 2. — ROMAN SCHOOL (c. 850): THE ASCENSION.
Rome, Lower Church of San Clemente. (Photo Anderson).

THE PREDECESSORS OF GIOTTO

between 1073 and 1084—a very remarkable offshoot of that great Benedictine school of painting which centred in the monastery of Monte Cassino, and with which, indeed, the earlier *Ascension* in the same Church of San Clemente may not be unconnected. Passing on to the twelfth century, we may notice, on its very threshold, the superb series of frescoes in the Church of San Silvestro at Tivoli, while later examples coming within the same artistic orbit are supplied by the Church of San Pietro, near Ferentillo, in Southern Umbria—where, among several incidents from the Old and the New Testaments, a peculiarly Blake-like young Adam naming the animals is particularly impressive—and farther south, by the cathedral of Anagni. It was, however, the thirteenth century which witnessed the rise of Rome to its greatest importance as a centre of art—the period during which the political power of the Pope reached its apogee, and when Rome enjoyed a greater material prosperity than during any preceding epoch of the Middle Ages. It was, we may recall, not a question of painting alone, but of architecture and sculpture as well ; and we may single out the noble and spacious porch of the cathedral of Civita Castellana—the joint work of two members of one of the leading artists' families in Rome, the Cosmati, completed in 1210—as a striking proof of the artistic achievement of the school of Rome early in this period, and more particularly of its success in reviving a Classical tendency ; for it is without doubt the work of artists who have penetrated deeply into the spirit of Classical art, but do not by any means copy slavishly.

Of the Roman painters of the thirteenth century, the principal figure emerging before our eyes is that of Pietro Cavallini. The existence of this great master had never been wholly forgotten ; but a great many misconceptions regarding him had become current, mainly originating with Vasari, who does indeed devote a Life to him, but describes him as a pupil of Giotto ; whereas on the available evidence there is every reason to think that Pietro Cavallini was working as a painter already in the seventies of the thirteenth century, or at a time when Giotto was still but a child. The one indubitable work by Cavallini which has been there at all times for any one to see is the series of mosaics decorating the lower part of the apse of Santa Maria in Trastevere at Rome. Probably executed about 1291, these mosaics have long been taken into account by writers on early Italian painting ; but it was not until the rediscovery, in the year 1900, of Cavallini's frescoes in the Church of Santa Cecilia in Rome that it has become possible to realize his full significance as an artist. As a result,

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

attributions to him of various other works—both panel pictures and frescoes, notably some of great importance in the Upper Church of San Francesco at Assisi—have been advanced in different quarters, and not without considerable probability. We cannot, however, here go into the details of these necessarily somewhat controversial questions, but must restrict ourselves to an appreciation of the art of Cavallini as revealed to us in the frescoes of Santa Cecilia, which were probably executed about 1293.

There is reason to think that originally the whole of this church was decorated with frescoes by Cavallini; but we can really only now judge of those which are in the private choir of the nuns at the back of the church. They cover three walls in the room, and that on the central wall, representing the Last Judgment, is comparatively well preserved (Plate 3). As iconographical precedent demanded, it is a symmetrical, undramatic design: in the middle of the composition is seen Christ in a *mandorla* surrounded by eight angels; then follow, on each side, the figures of the Virgin and St. John the Baptist, and six figures of seated apostles. It is especially these which, thanks to their excellent condition, allow us to form a clear idea of Cavallini's personality. What strikes one at first sight is the extraordinary grandeur and monumental dignity of this art; the forms, full and majestic, and yet flexible, produce a statuesque effect quite in the tradition of Classical art. It is quite evident that the artist has given keen study to such examples of Græco-Roman art as had been accessible to him; but again, as in the case of the Civita Castellana porch, it is a case of penetration into the spirit of Classical art, and not of slavish copying. Naturally, the example of Byzantine art, which still coloured the production of so many artists round him, cannot have failed to affect Cavallini to some extent; and the same is true of the infiltration of Gothic art from the North; but, on the whole, what we see here is essentially a *Roman* art, of characteristic power, strength, and nobility.

Now it is within the orbit of this art that we find Cimabue when for the first time he emerges for us as a tangible historic personality, "*Cimabue pittore de Florencia*"—that is the style under which he appears as a witness to a document in Rome on June 18, 1272; and we do not authentically hear of him again until at the end of his life, in 1301-2, when he was directing the mosaic work in the cathedral of Pisa. Following Vasari, generations of art historians had become accustomed to look upon Cimabue as the father of Italian painting, when towards the end of the last century a reaction set in; a tendency arose in several quarters to minimize the importance of



PLATE 3. — PIETRO CAVALLINI: THE LAST JUDGMENT (Detail).
Rome, Santa Cecilia. (Photo Alinari).

THE PREDECESSORS OF GIOTTO

Cimabue and also to deny that there are any works left by him. It is true that Vasari's account of this artist may be dismissed as largely a fabrication : but that Cimabue was a great name in his day cannot, however, well be doubted ; for this, it must be sufficient evidence that Dante, himself a friend of Giotto's, in a famous *terzina* of the *Divina Commedia*, mentions Cimabue and Giotto as the chief representatives of their respective generations of artists :

“Credette Cimabue nella pittura
Tener lo campo, ed ora ha Giotto il grido
Si che la fama di colui è oscura.”

Purgatorio, xi. 94-96.

The attitude of ultra-scepticism alluded to is, however, now almost entirely a thing of the past, and there exists a fair consensus as to the works which may be assigned to Cimabue. The most important of these is a series of frescoes painted in the choir and transepts of the Upper Church of San Francesco at Assisi, the great sanctuary of the Franciscan Order, which is decorated with a most imposing series of frescoes by various masters. This building—begun in 1228 and completed in its main portions in 1253—is one of the earliest specimens of Gothic architecture in Italy ; and in this connection it is worth while dwelling on the fact that Gothic architecture, as modified in Italy, did not by any means do away with the available wall space to the same extent as Northern Gothic architecture : the windows of the churches were kept much smaller in Italy than in the North, and the assistance of painters was always reckoned upon for the adornment of the churches. Now to turn to the frescoes at Assisi, which may, I think with ample reason, be assigned to Cimabue, they have come down to us in a terribly injured state, and also curiously transformed by time, inasmuch as all the lights have gone so dark that the frescoes look like photographic negatives. Our reproduction is therefore taken from a negative, which to a certain extent automatically gives the original look of the fresco (Plate 4). The subject is the Crucifixion, conceived so as to bring home in the most drastic and uncompromising fashion the awfulness of the event—much in the way in which a thundering roadside Franciscan preacher must have pictured to his hearers the tragedy of Golgotha. Throughout the whole there runs a current of the most intense feeling, sometimes finding expression in movements of the greatest violence, as, for instance, in the figure of the Magdalen, who is seen throwing up both her hands in utter despair as she stands by the cross. The other frescoes in this series are treated in the same

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

vein of violent dramatic expression, the subjects chosen being at times of a very fantastic nature : one of the frescoes thus represents the Fall of the Tower of Babel.

Now where is it most likely that Cimabue learnt his art ? As we have seen, there is no actual impossibility of his being largely a product of the Florentine School ; but at the time when Cimabue's talent was formed the Roman School was beyond all comparison the most important of the two : and since we find Cimabue settled in Rome as early as 1272, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that he must at any rate owe a very great deal to that school, and that he carried its traditions to his native Florence, where his activity must have been considerable.

As to the development of the Roman school of painting, this was brought to an abrupt end as a result of the calamities which overtook Rome at the beginning of the fourteenth century, when the Pope was dragged into captivity at Avignon, and the eternal city was left a prey to internal discord and misery. For several centuries to come, whilst we can follow the activity of many painters in Rome, there is really no such thing as a Roman school of painting. The centre of gravity of Italian art shifts into Tuscany, where Florence becomes the leading city. But in passing to a consideration of the marvellous development of the Florentine school of painting from the time about 1300 to the beginning of the sixteenth century sight should not be lost of the fact that many of its most powerful impulses at the beginning came from Rome. Cimabue furnishes one case in point ; and Giotto, as we shall see, supplies another.



PLATE 4. — CIMABUE: THE CRUCIFIXION.
Assisi, San Francesco. (Photo Anderson).

Chapter II

GIOTTO

Traditions about Giotto—The historical Giotto—The frescoes in the nave of the Upper Church of San Francesco at Assisi—The frescoes of the life of St. Francis—The frescoes in Santa Maria dell' Arena at Padua—The frescoes in the Bardi and Peruzzi chapels in the Church of Santa Croce at Florence.

ROUND the name of Giotto legend has been particularly busy, and that in more ways than one. Few biographical anecdotes have won greater favour than the one, first related by Lorenzo Ghiberti about 1450, which tells of Cimabue's chance encounter with Giotto as a boy drawing by the roadside a sheep on a stone slab. Vasari, not content with repeating the story at the beginning of his life of Giotto, embroidering in his charming and plausible fashion upon Ghiberti's terse account, has indeed—as pointed out by Dr. Schlosser—used it no less than four times, adopting it for other artists as well. Of the artists of the last century, Giovanni Segantini was singled out as the recipient of similar honours; while on the strength of this anecdote the Florence Campanile is to Ruskin "The Shepherd's Tower."¹ Again, as a matter of artistic appreciation, legend will persist to cling to the name of Giotto. To say, as Dr. Wölfflin does, "At the head of Italian painting stands Giotto. He it is who was the first to unlock the tongue of art,"² is surely a mythographical simplification, which the existence of the Mediæval school of painting in Rome alone suffices to disprove. The fact of the matter is, that Giotto is the heir of an artistic tradition of

¹ Compare J. Schlosser, *Die Denkwürdigkeiten des Florentinischen Bildhauers Lorenzo Ghiberti*, Berlin, 1920, p. 99. We may here recall that the very earliest version of the Giotto-Cimabue anecdote, preserved by an anonymous Dante commentator about 1400, tells the story very differently. Placed by his father as apprentice to a woolstapler in Florence, the young Giotto neglects his work in favour of visits to Cimabue's workshop, and Cimabue eventually persuades Giotto's father to let his son become a painter. Though in this form the anecdote agrees rather better with what is historically known about Giotto's father (who was not, as Vasari calls him, a *lavoratore di terra*, but a landed proprietor of some standing), it is impossible to place very much reliance on it, since, even though older than Ghiberti's version, it dates from more than a century after the events it purports to describe.

² H. Wölfflin, *Die Klassische Kunst*, seventh edition, Munich, 1924, p. 7.

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

very long standing ; and though a great and wonderful innovator, he most decidedly did not create Italian painting out of nothing.

In order to obtain as clear as possible an idea of Giotto's art and the significance of his performance, it will be well first to review the facts of his life as they are definitely known to us. On the available evidence, the probable date of his birth fluctuates between 1266 and 1276. He is first heard of in Florence in 1307 ; but as the Scrovegni chapel in Santa Maria dell' Arena in Padua was begun in 1303, and consecrated in 1305, soon after which the Scrovegni family was banished from Padua, we can scarcely go wrong in connecting an undoubted work by Giotto, the fresco decoration of the Arena chapel, with the period about 1303-5. He is again mentioned in a Florentine record of 1312. But then the documents are silent for many years, until in 1330 we find him as a member (*familiaris*) of the Court of Robert of Anjou, King of Naples ; and at Naples we can further trace him until the year 1333. The following year he was back in Florence, where the city authorities appointed him overseer of all the artistic undertakings of Florence ; and special mention is made in this connection of the Campanile of Florence Cathedral. He died in Florence three years later, on January 8, 1337, having, however, in the meantime paid a visit to Milan. And there is, moreover, unimpeachable evidence of his activity at Bologna (c. 1333-34) and at Rome. The dates of his association with the latter city must remain somewhat uncertain : all that historical documents allow us to infer is that he had been there before 1313. The Ferrarese chronicler Riccobaldi, who was a contemporary of Giotto's (he died in 1319), speaks in praise of him in the neighbourhood of the year 1305 ; and the cities which are mentioned in Riccobaldi's chronicles as scenes of Giotto's activity are Assisi (the Church of St. Francis being definitely named), Rimini, and Padua : it is, however, possible that this statement was interpolated into the chronicle after Giotto's death. For a visit of his to Avignon there is the evidence of a commentator of Dante who wrote when Giotto was still alive, about 1334.

It will be seen from the above résumé of the historical information concerning Giotto that there is but very slight documentary evidence connecting him with Assisi ; and yet it is probably of Assisi and of one series of paintings there, the frescoes of the life of St. Francis, that most people instinctively think when the name of Giotto is mentioned. The earliest writer to connect these frescoes with Giotto is indeed Vasari, the first edition of whose *Lives* was not published until 1550. Lorenzo Ghiberti, writing

GIOTTO

a century earlier, does mention paintings by Giotto at Assisi, but *not* the frescoes in the Upper Church ; he only refers to " practically the whole Lower Church " and the paintings in the Church of Santa Maria degli Angeli.¹ Nor have there been, or are there, critics wanting, who for reasons of style refuse to see the hand of Giotto in the St. Francis series in the Upper Church. If, on the other hand, these frescoes may be regarded as the earliest extant work by Giotto—and the writer must range himself with those who take that view—they form an episode of the greatest importance in the development of Giotto. This series of frescoes therefore demands to be considered minutely.

The Upper Church of San Francesco at Assisi is aisleless, and the walls of the single nave are decorated with two tiers of frescoes. The two tiers at the top, contained within the arches of the vaulting, have suffered great damage and represent scenes from the Old and the New Testaments, following the system of parallelism so dear to the mediæval mind : the subjects from the Old Testament on the right wall, and those from the New Testament on the left wall. An accurate judgment as to the artistic quality of these frescoes is rendered very difficult by the extensive destruction which they have undergone ; but it may be said that they largely reflect the characteristics of style of the Roman school of painting of the late thirteenth century, more especially as exemplified by Pietro Cavallini, to whom some critics have indeed definitely ascribed some of these frescoes.² This is not the place to enter upon a discussion of these highly controversial points, primarily concerned as we are with the frescoes in the lower tier, depicting the legend of St. Francis in twenty-eight scenes, fourteen on each of the side walls, and two on the entrance wall.

By the time these frescoes were painted the life of St. Francis was iconographically by no means virgin soil. It had notably been illustrated in a series of altar-pieces of a type which combines a full-length figure of St. Francis with a number of subjects from his legend, depicted on small panels enclosing the central figure.³ The earliest of these altar-pieces is

¹ " Dipinse . . . quasi tutta la parte di sotto " are the exact words of Ghiberti about Giotto's work in the Church of San Francesco at Assisi. Dr. van Marle's interpretation, " the lower row of frescoes in the Upper Church " (*The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, Vol. II., 1924, p. 5, n. 1), is very ingenious, but not convincing.

² Three half-length figures of saints now in the National Gallery, but originally belonging to a series of frescoes in the Palazzo del Podestà at Assisi, display characteristics of style not dissimilar from those of the frescoes just referred to, and are interesting as easily accessible examples of the fresco technique of Giotto's own period and immediate artistic vicinity.

³ I have treated of these altar-pieces at some length in my paper " Some Franciscan Subjects in Italian Art " in *St. Francis of Assisi, 1226-1926, Essays in Commemoration*, London, 1926, p. 3 *sqq.*

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

one painted in 1235, or barely nine years after the death of St. Francis, by Bonaventura Berlinghieri, a prominent master of the Lucca School, and preserved in the Church of San Francesco at Pescia, near Lucca. The number of scenes from the legend of St. Francis here represented is six. Headed by the *Stigmatization of St. Francis* and his *Sermon to the Birds*, the series includes four other subjects which do not reappear at Assisi, though they were to enjoy a great vogue in thirteenth-century painting preceding the Assisi frescoes, and are of a nature which emphasizes St. Francis's power of healing physical ailments. In 1261, the elaborate Life of St. Francis, by St. Bonaventure, was completed, and soon obtained a wide diffusion; a very distinct reflection of it is seen in the altar-piece of the type alluded to which has its place over the altar of the Bardi chapel in the Church of Santa Croce at Florence—the very chapel which, as we shall see, Giotto later was to decorate with frescoes from the life of the same saint. By Vasari this picture is assigned to Cimabue; but that is an attribution impossible to uphold on any evidence of style: in all probability we have here the work of a Florentine painter of the time about 1270. The number of scenes from the life of St. Francis here depicted is very much larger than that occurring in any of the earlier altar-pieces of this category, being no less than twenty; in these the account of St. Bonaventure has obviously been followed, and what we see is an attempt to unroll before our eyes the highly dramatic and emotional life story of St. Francis, without laying the principal accent on his gifts as a performer of miracles. The series of frescoes at Assisi approaches the task in a similar spirit, and is also based on the text of St. Bonaventure; but the divergent results which will follow in different quarters, even if the same source is drawn upon, may be seen from the fact that only five of the scenes represented in the Santa Croce altar-piece reappear in the Assisi series; and two of these (the *Stigmatization* and the *Sermon to the Birds*) belong to the earliest iconographical tradition concerning St. Francis. Iconographically speaking, the position of the series at Assisi, then, is that, while there existed a good deal of precedent in these matters, comparatively little heed was paid to it in setting the scheme of subjects at Assisi, which indeed, so far as our present knowledge goes, must be held to be a selection markedly untrammelled by tradition.

As to the character of the art seen in the St. Francis series at Assisi, there is one thing which strikes one at first sight as a general impression—the extraordinary sense of naturalness in the interpretation of the episodes



PLATE 5. — GIOTTO: ST. FRANCIS CAUSES A SPRING TO FLOW MIRACULOUSLY.
Assisi, San Francesco. (Photo Anderson).

GIOTTO

of the legend, the way in which the facts and details of everyday life and the varying shades of emotion are observed. It is tantalizing to decide upon individual examples which show this characteristic particularly plainly; but there is, for instance, the scene—practically a *genre* picture—of which we shall have more to say anon, in which St. Francis hands his mantle to an impoverished nobleman in the foreground of a definitely Umbrian landscape with rocky hills and trees (Plate 1, *Frontispiece*). Or there is the fresco in which St. Francis, accompanied by two friars, kneels in a barren wilderness and prays for water to issue from the rocks so that the driver of his donkey may slake his thirst: the realism in the rendering of the Italian peasant flinging himself on the ground to drink from the spring miraculously called forth has an almost Breughel-like quality (Plate 5). This celebrated figure was Vasari's choice when he wanted to illustrate the *imitazioni ed osservazioni della Natura*, which he emphasizes as a feature of the Assisi frescoes. And turning from open-air scenes such as these to interiors, there is the very remarkable one representing the miracle which occurred during the celebration of Christmas in the city of Greccio (Plate 6). The legend tells us how, in order to excite the inhabitants of Greccio to commemorate the Nativity of Christ with due devotion, St. Francis determined to keep it with all possible solemnity. He prepared a manger, and brought an ox and an ass to the place appointed, which was a cave in a wood—in other words, setting the stage for a miracle play. It was then affirmed by one of those who took part in the celebration of Christmas Eve in that place that he saw an infant, marvellously beautiful, sleeping in the manger, whom St. Francis embraced with both his arms as if he would awake him from sleep—the inference of the legend being obviously that of a miraculous apparition, though a more natural explanation immediately suggests itself as both harmonizing with the avowed activities of St. Francis as a stage manager on this occasion.¹ It will be seen that the fresco takes considerable liberty with the text of the legend, for the scene is not laid in the cave in the wood, but in the choir of a church which is crowded with people; in this respect, precedent is, however, followed here, for the scene occurs in the same setting in one of the small compartments of the Santa Croce altar-pieces. In the foreground St. Francis is seen kneeling, holding the Infant Christ in his arms—a most convincing interpretation of tender

¹ Visitors to Italian church treasures may recall how the tendency is for stage properties from early miracle plays and church pageants, in themselves of great interest, to assume in the course of time the character of actual relics.

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

devotion ; and equally convincing is the artist's interpretation of the scene round the protagonist—the crowd in contemporary costumes, the disclosure of the appliances by which the crucifix above the choir screen is tilted forward into the church, the different way in which the singing friars open their mouths in accordance with their part.¹ That is, of course, not to say that there is not a great deal of actual archaism left—and most strikingly so perhaps in the way in which the ox and the ass, seen in the foreground, are drawn on a scale altogether different from that of the remainder of the fresco. But again, apart from this, especially the ass is very finely drawn, the difficult movement and perspective being rendered with extraordinary effectiveness.

The lack of articulation in the composition of this fresco is, of course, very noticeable ; but it must be emphasized that in that respect this painting is decidedly exceptional in the series. On the whole there is a persistent use of definite compositional devices. These, no doubt, vary considerably in character ; at times they are of a very simple nature, in other cases they are of much subtlety. One of the simpler devices is seen in the fresco of the Sermon of St. Francis before Pope Honorius III. (Plate 7), when, according to St. Bonaventure, St. Francis on being brought before his exalted audience entirely forgot the speech he had prepared, but then, under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, spoke so effectively that his hearers were most deeply moved. The scene is laid in a hall of elegant Gothic design, a sequence of three pointed arches supported by slender columns dividing the space equally. The disposition of the figures is in the main on simple pyramidal lines, which serves to lay the necessary accent on the figure of the Pope ; but it will be noticed that he is not exactly in the middle of the space. That does away with any sense of rigid primitive symmetry, and, moreover, brings in the right note of the whole being essentially a meeting between two people—the Pope and St. Francis—since they thus come to be placed at either extremity of the two adjoining arcades. St. Francis—the only figure not seated—now, moreover, holds his own as the real protagonist, without upsetting the balance of the composition ; and the effect is further strengthened by the remarkable intensity of expression in the head of St. Francis, to whom the eight other figures serve as a foil—all listening figures, though the shades of expression are very successfully

¹ Dr. Zimmermann (*Giotto und die Kunst Italiens im Mittelalter*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 334) has rightly pointed out that this piece of observation anticipates a much admired detail of realism occurring in the singing angels both of the Ghent altar-piece by the brothers Van Eyck and of the reliefs of the *Cantoria* of Florence Cathedral by Luca della Robbia.



PLATE 6. — GIOTTO: THE CELEBRATION OF CHRISTMAS AT GRECCIO.
Assisi, San Francesco. (Photo Anderson).

GIOTTO

varied. There is also a very notable gift of characterization and individualization in the various heads—so much so, for instance, as to have suggested the comment that the figure immediately on the right of the Pope with the fleshy oval face and eager glance is probably Cardinal Hugo of Ostia, who is said to have been present on this occasion, and who later on, as Pope Gregory IX., became a powerful supporter of St. Francis.

Still designed on very simple lines, but using the available material with much subtlety, is the fresco, already briefly commented on, which shows St. Francis when still living in the world as a young man—hence before his assumption of a friar's habit—meeting on a ride a nobleman who, through no fault of his own, had lost his possessions and walked about poorly clad: the saint dismounts and, even more generous than St. Martin, gives the poor man his own mantle (Plate 1, *Frontispiece*). Again we see the use of a simple, centralized and pyramidal disposition: St. Francis more or less in the centre of the space, turning, with a gesture of extraordinary gentleness and generosity emphasizing the expression of his face, to the old man, who, one fancies, somewhat bewildered, but grateful all the same, accepts the gift of the mantle. The horse browsing on the left serves as a makeweight in the composition, and a further unifying element all through the foreground is the note of yellow which occurs in varying shades in the dress of the old nobleman, the mantle of St. Francis, and the saddle of the horse. The foreground is a very narrow stage; in the distance is a rocky landscape with two hills, sparsely covered with trees and silhouetted against the plain background of blue sky, that on the left being crowned by a turreted city, that on the right by a church or convent: in spite of the very conventional treatment the spirit of the Umbrian hill country has here been extraordinarily well caught. Also, the convergence of the outlines of the two hills, meeting just behind the head of St. Francis, is a very valuable feature in the composition, serving to give added accent to his figure.

More complex material is used in a fresco which is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable of the whole series—that depicting the death of the Knight of Celano (Plate 8). The legend which it illustrates tells that once, when visiting the city of Celano, St. Francis was asked to the house of one of the nobles of that place. As they were about to partake of a meal, St. Francis received a revelation that his host was to die forthwith. He therefore urged his host to confess all his sins, which he did; they then sat down to talk, and the others began to eat, but the host fell dead before he had

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

had time to begin. It has been truly remarked that the point of this story—namely, that St. Francis foretold the death of the host—is, of course, not to be expressed in painting, though if one knows the story one must feel how wonderfully the gesture of St. Francis illustrates that fact. But the suddenness of the death of the knight, its amazing effect on the crowd, and the calmness and serenity of St. Francis in face of the event, are brought home with the greatest vividness and yet with the utmost economy of means. The figure of St. Francis dominates the whole in the most effective manner, and there is evidence of the most consummate feeling for design in the spacing of the whole. Every interval or division is exactly what it should be. There is first St. Francis with his companion at the table, under the dais on the left, the remainder of the figure composition being crowded together on the right. That gives St. Francis the right prominence. Then there is the figure of a man with a cap on his head, pointing with one hand to the dead knight, and making a gesture of amazement with the other as he turns to St. Francis. He establishes the link between the two main groups. Then the members of the household hurriedly gathered round their dead master—a number of extremely expressive figures, though not very individualized: the real counterpart of the Greek chorus. Finally, the dead knight, a noble figure as he lies there, calm in death, with the long curve of his body, as it were, gathering together the strands of the composition. As regards the interpretation of the legend, special mention must be made of the way in which the incidents of the drama are brought home by the wonderfully varied expressions of all these hands—how truly Italian the picture is in this respect: it is like an anticipation of the expressive play of the hands in Leonardo's *Last Supper*. But take the whole simply as a design, without any relation to the telling of a definite story, how extremely satisfying to the eye are not the rhythmic rise and fall of the lines and the mutual relations of the divisions of space.

In the series of which we have now analysed a few selected specimens there are undoubtedly a number of very marked differences of style. To some extent the indifferent state of preservation of these frescoes makes it difficult to arrive at conclusions regarding the several hands which may have been busy over these; but there is, for instance, one group of subjects which stands out among the rest as displaying certain characteristics of style of a very individual order. The group comprises the four last frescoes in the series, all depicting miracles worked by St. Francis after his death,



PLATE 7.—GIOTTO: ST. FRANCIS BEFORE POPE HONORIUS III. Assisi, San Francesco

GIOTTO

and in addition, curiously enough, the very first subject of all—a man doing homage to the young St. Francis by spreading his mantle before him in the public square of Assisi. These five frescoes are characterized by a much greater elegance of style than the remainder ; the proportions of the figures are much more slender, there is a much greater daintiness of features and expression. Indeed, it has been long ago recognized that the five frescoes in question display very close analogies of style with the series of eight scenes from the legend of St. Cecilia which occur on the wings of an altar-piece in the Uffizi at Florence, containing in the centre a figure of St. Cecilia enthroned. The identity of the doubtless Florentine, late thirteenth-century master who painted this altar-piece is not ascertained ; his hand may, with more or less probability be recognized in a few other panel pictures, and it has become customary to refer to him under the name of “ the St. Cecilia Master.” On the evidence of style it is difficult to resist the conclusion that this “ St. Cecilia Master ” took a hand in the painting of the St. Francis series.

At the same time, though there are these differences, it would be idle to deny that very close ties of affinity also exist between all these frescoes. This is true, for one thing, as regards matters of artistic form—say, the facial types, the methods of perspective and composition, the character of the architectural settings, and so on ; then, also, as regards the general spirit of realism and of dramatic expression which characterizes this art. There is nothing improbable in the assumption that several painters were at work on the St. Francis series ; but I for one am left with the impression that there was a master mind directing the whole, and that the majority of the paintings are the work of one artist, whose share in the actual execution amounts to what one can reasonably expect from the head of a great pictorial undertaking of this nature.

Was that artist Giotto ? Critics have been at pains to point out the differences which exist between these paintings and the fully authenticated examples of Giotto’s art ; and it would be useless to try and argue against the existence of these differences. But alongside of them surely there are countless features of close analogy with Giotto’s art ; and the difference between the San Francesco series and the undoubted works by Giotto is surely not greater than that which naturally exists between the earliest works of an artist and his later productions. Indeed, my feeling is, that if the San Francesco frescoes are not by Giotto, there must have existed a twin Giotto whose further activity was a blank. Professor Tikkanen,

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

whose masterly analysis of the style of Giotto is nowadays too little read,¹ has expressed a similar idea when, after accepting a proportion of the St. Francis frescoes as unquestionably early works by Giotto, he says of the others, "so much seems certain to me that in these frescoes we have the process of formation of the Giottesque style before our eyes."

It so happens that at a period of his career not to be accurately determined, but probably to be placed about the year 1320, Giotto painted a series of frescoes of the life of St. Francis in the Bardi chapel in the Church of Santa Croce in Florence. The series is numerically of much smaller extent than the one at Assisi, comprising as it does only seven subjects, but for each of them there exists a precedent at Assisi, and a comparison between the earlier and the later versions is of great interest also in connection with the question as regards the authorship of the Assisi series. I have chosen for illustration the scene in both instances illustrating the episode in the legend when St. Francis's father, in consequence of his son's profuse alms, brought him before the Bishop of Assisi to compel him to renounce all his inheritance (Plate 9). Laying aside all his clothes, and giving them back to his father, St. Francis said, "Until this hour I have called thee my father on earth; from henceforth I may say confidently, My Father who art in Heaven." Thereupon the bishop embraced St. Francis and covered him with his own cloak, while the father went away in great anger. It will be seen, on comparing the two frescoes, what a close affinity there exists between the two works—how many of the elements of the earlier composition reappear in the later one, only expressed with far greater resource and richness of modulations. Is it likely that an artist with such gifts of inventiveness as Giotto would have gone to another artist's design in order to work out his own? Is not the relation between the Santa Croce and the Assisi fresco exactly what one would expect to be the one between a mature and an immature work by the same artist?

If then, as I hold, the St. Francis series at Assisi is to be regarded as the work of the young Giotto and his assistants, what inferences does it allow us to make regarding the artistic origin of Giotto? The nearest kin to the art here seen among works definitely associable with a nameable artist is beyond question the series of frescoes by Pietro Cavallini in Santa Cecilia at Rome. The vigour and plastic effect of modelling the full rounded

¹ J. J. Tikkanen, *Der Malerische Styl Giotto's*, Helsingfors, 1884. It is immaterial for the purposes of my argument that Professor Tikkanen should accept the whole of the latter half of the series as being by Giotto, and leave open the question of the authorship of the other half.



PLATE 8. — GIOTTO: THE DEATH OF THE KNIGHT OF CELANO.
Assisi, San Francesco. (Photo Anderson).

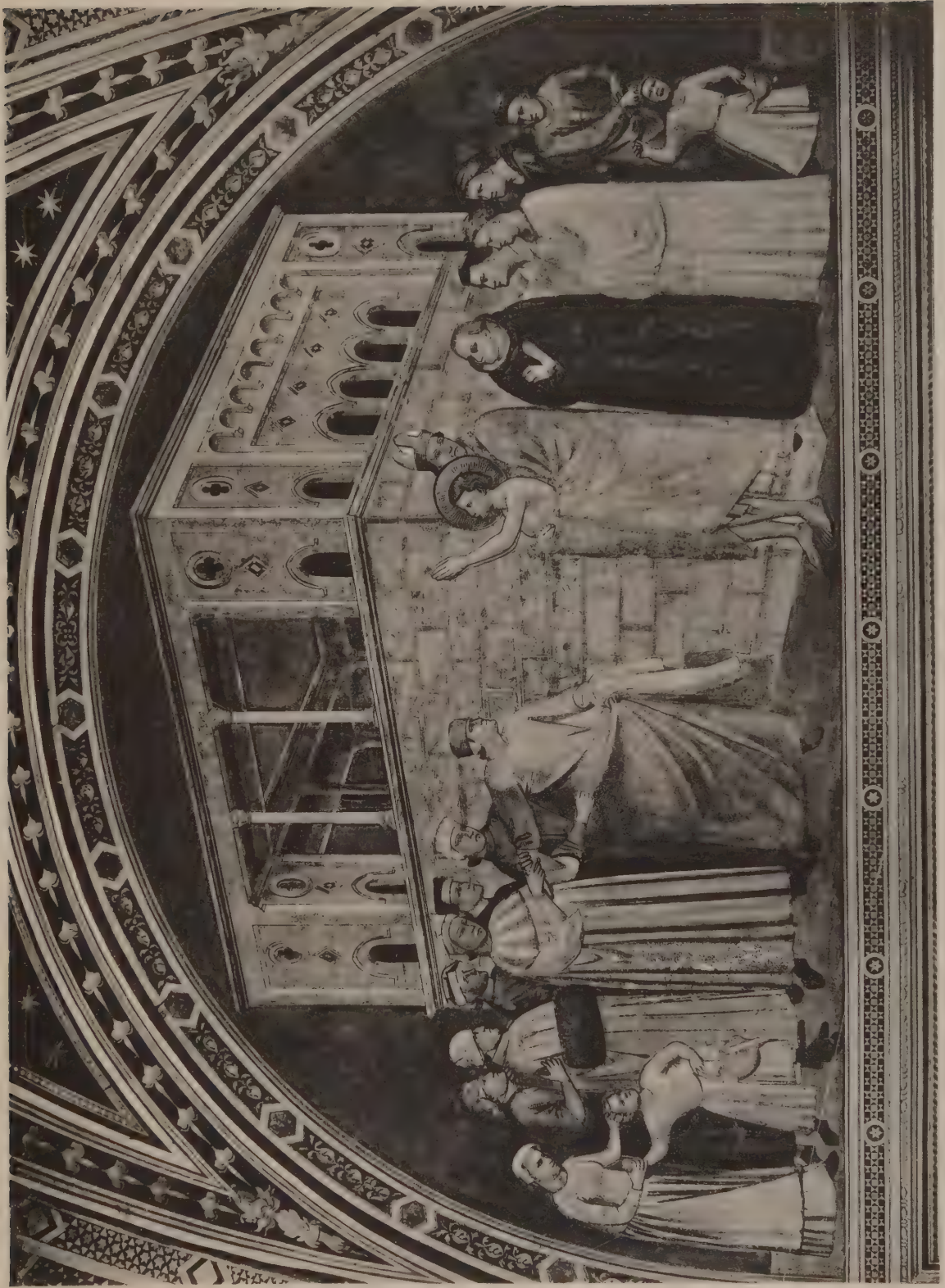


PLATE 9 a. — GIOTTO: ST. FRANCIS RENOUNCING HIS INHERITANCE.
Assisi, San Francesco. (Photo Anderson).



PLATE 9b. — GIOTTO ST. FRANCIS RENOUNCING HIS INHERITANCE.
Florence, Santa Croce. (Photo Anderson).

GIOTTO

forms, the statuesque monumental quality—all these characteristics of the Santa Cecilia frescoes recur in the Assisi series. Moreover, there are various significant details which point very definitely to an acquaintance with Rome on the part of the artist responsible for the St. Francis series. I referred briefly, in speaking of the importance of Rome as an art centre during the thirteenth century, to the work, as architects and sculptors, of the Cosmati family, practising a style strongly imbued with Classical influence. Now a very important province of the work of these artists is that formed by church furniture of various kinds—pulpits, screens, candlesticks, tombs, and so on—and like their works as architects strictly speaking it is decorated with panels of multi-coloured mosaics generally showing purely geometrical designs. Examples of this type are still to be found in considerable numbers in Roman churches; and, indeed, the visitor to Westminster Abbey can to this day see two works of this school—the tomb of Edward the Confessor and that of Henry III.—an eloquent proof, surely, of the esteem enjoyed at the time all over Europe by the Roman school of art of the thirteenth century. And if we look through the architectural “properties” of the St. Francis series we shall find that it is consistently carried out in this style—Classical design, with occasional concessions (as in Rome also) to the Gothic style; and Cosmatesque mosaic ornamentation everywhere. I think it will be generally agreed that this circumstance alone would make it difficult to resist the conclusion that the master who controlled the St. Francis series had close ties with Rome.

As we have seen, the St. Francis series is surrounded at Assisi by frescoes closely connected on the one hand with Rome, and on the other hand with the St. Francis series itself; and as a striking proof of the position of some of these frescoes at the parting of the ways may be quoted the fact that one of them, the particularly noble and impressive rendering of Jacob blessing Esau, in the second tier of the right-hand wall of the nave, will be given by one critic to Giotto and by another to Cavallini. Giotto, then, emerges at Assisi as the scion of the great Roman school of painting, which, as we saw, came to a sudden end at the beginning of the fourteenth century when the Pope went into exile at Avignon, though, as a matter of fact, not even this circumstance meant an entire cessation of their patronage of art in Rome—as witness, for instance, the fact that in 1321 Pope John XXII. issued from Avignon a Bull concerning some mosaics to be carried out in the basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura. There exists the curious document connecting Giotto with Rome—a power of attorney given in 1313 to a

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

person in Rome so as to enable the latter to collect some household articles Giotto had left in that city. Hence Giotto had been in Rome before 1313, but exactly when there is nothing in the record to say ; only it must evidently have been for a stay of some length, in view of the number of goods and chattels he left behind. Of Giotto's pictorial activity in Rome only scanty vestiges remain. In the portico of St. Peter's you may still see his celebrated mosaic of *La Navicella* (Christ succouring St. Peter on the Sea), which used to be in the entrance court of old St. Peter's, and, unfortunately, has been most drastically restored ; though, if you venture as far as one of the villages of the wild *Ciociaria* country in the mountains east of Rome, called Boville Ernica (formerly Bauco), you will see in its church a noble fragment of the original mosaic, the bust of an angel, which, as Dr. van Marle rightly remarks, is closely akin to the Assisi frescoes, and at the same time recalls Cavallini's style.¹ This fact, taken together with various other considerations, points to a comparatively early date for the *Navicella*—say about the year 1300 ; and as for the frescoes of the life of St. Francis, we can scarcely go wrong if we assign to them a slightly anterior date—say about 1295–1300. Greater precision than this is, unfortunately, at present impossible, and it may be doubted if we can ever get much further, since the voice of records at Assisi continues to be strangely silent.

As a final word of appreciation of the St. Francis series it may be said that while it certainly shows many shortcomings, and upon many points is definitely uncouth and clumsy, yet what it contains of absolute æsthetic values is enough to more than make up for this, and the youthful ardour and intensity one feels behind the work helps to make it one of the most sympathetic and lovable performances in the whole of art history.²

The frescoes in the Arena chapel at Padua were probably painted, as already mentioned, about 1303–5. A building of not very large dimensions, the chapel is decorated in its entirety—walls and ceiling—with frescoes, and except for the paintings in the choir, which are by a rather mediocre artist following Giotto at some distance, the whole is the work of Giotto and his atelier, the individualities of which are very effectively dominated by Giotto. The scheme of decoration provides for a series of

¹ The fresco in the Lateran, representing Pope Boniface VIII. between two cardinals proclaiming the jubilee of 1300, is a heavily repainted fragment of a much larger composition which cannot with any certainty be assigned to Giotto.

² The question as to Giotto's share in the decoration of the Lower Church at Assisi is a very complicated one. It will be remembered that Ghiberti states that he painted practically the whole of it ; and there are plenty of frescoes in it which suggest his immediate vicinity, but none, perhaps, with which we can directly associate him.

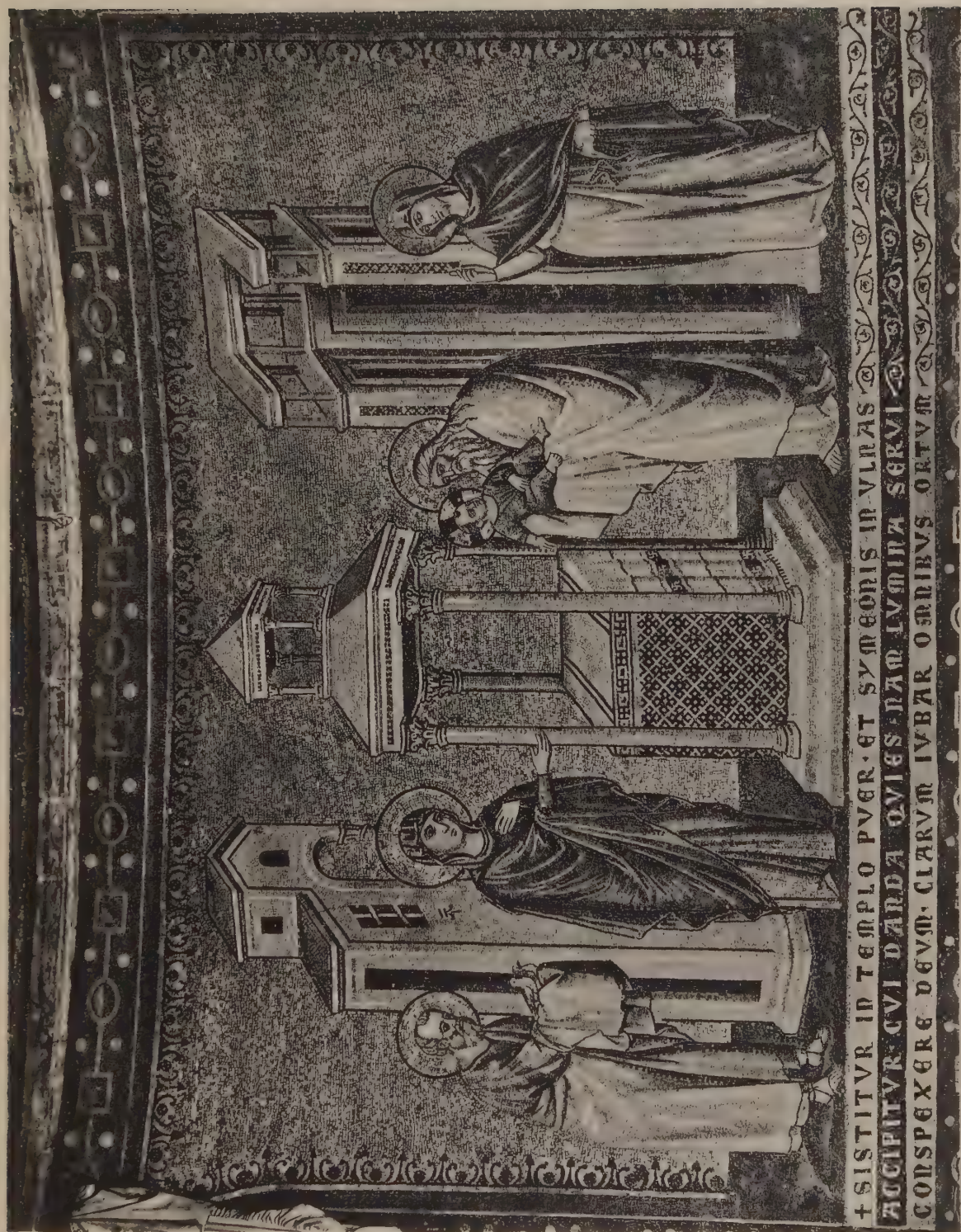


PLATE 10 a. — PIETRO CAVALLINI: THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE.
 Rome, Santa Maria in Trastevere. (Photo Alinari).



PLATE 10 b. — GIOTTO: THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE.
Padua, Santa Maria dell' Arena. (Photo Anderson).

GIOTTO

thirty-seven subjects from the life of Joachim and Anne and the Virgin and Christ, mainly set forth in three superimposed tiers on the side walls, the wall broken by the sanctuary arch containing also some of the scenes from this long chronicle, and at the top a composition of Christ in His majesty surrounded by angels. The end wall facing the sanctuary arch is occupied by one large composition, representing the Last Judgment; the vaulted ceiling is decorated very simply, a medallion containing a half-length of Christ and the symbols of the four evangelists supplying the main features of the design. Finally, along the whole nave of the chapel runs a painted dado containing on the side walls at intervals monochrome figures symbolizing the vices and virtues. The effect of the whole is, it must be owned, rather oppressive and monotonous, owing to the continuous succession of rectangular spaces on the two main walls, and all the more so as the frescoes have suffered a good deal from repainting, and in consequence present rather a hard and dead evenness of tone.

The Giotto whom the Arena chapel reveals to us is an artist who has moved on a great deal since the days of the St. Francis series at Assisi. It is altogether a much more mature artist that we see here: he is much surer of his methods; his resources of technique are much greater, and there is a great increase of majestic pondus in the way in which the story is told. For the subjects here depicted, the iconographical tradition was, of course, of great antiquity and tremendous strength in Giotto's time; and it is of extreme interest to see to what a large extent he preserves the general lines of the time-honoured arrangements, but brings an altogether new life into them; and, as has been well said, obvious and inevitable as his motives may strike one as being, a comparison with his predecessors teaches us that they are not so. Professor Tikkanen¹ has very appositely contrasted Giotto's fresco of the Presentation in the Temple (Plate 10) with Pietro Cavallini's mosaic of the same subject in the apse of Santa Maria in Trastevere at Rome. Both artists, he points out in his most illuminating analysis, which I am here venturing largely to paraphrase, have adopted the traditional arrangement of their subject; but in Cavallini's mosaic the figures are standing isolated and practically without any relation to one another, each actor in the scene performing the part which has been allotted to him. Joseph proffers the doves without anybody being there to receive them; the Virgin stands in a very conventional attitude, extending one hand only towards the Child,

¹ J. J. Tikkanen, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

who is separated from her by a considerable distance. The veneration of Simeon is well enough expressed, and on the Child there is no doubt an attempt at expressing fright at the sight of the strange old man, but it is not carried very far; Anna the prophetess forms a *pendant* to the figure of St. Joseph, and points mechanically towards heaven. How all this is changed in Giotto's composition! Simeon gazes at the Infant Christ less with veneration than with absolute passion, as if he did not believe his eyes; while Christ turns, with truly childlike fright, from the strange old man to His mother, who stands quite close by, and with a movement expressive of the fondest love, stretches both her arms towards the Child. The prophetess, who retains the traditional gesture, is deeply moved by the significance of the event: again the part of St. Joseph has been reduced to its proper importance, and yet another figure introduced to round off the composition in which there is no stiff symmetry either. "Between the execution of Cavallini's mosaic and Giotto's fresco there only lies a decade; and yet they are parted by the greatest artistic reform that ever has been carried through in one generation."

Perhaps the most wonderful and concentrated rendering of a situation of the highest dramatic tension in the whole of Giotto's work is his fresco of the Meeting of the Virgin and St. Elizabeth in the Arena chapel (Plate 11). The artistic means of expression here have been reduced to the utmost simplicity; there is only the briefest indication of any locality, and the play of lines is practically a close succession of uprights, save for the line of the back of St. Elizabeth as she stoops to look into the Virgin's face.¹ But how vividly by this simple contrast is the essence of the dramatic situation brought home, and how does Elizabeth's attitude wonderfully emphasize what Burckhardt so happily calls the expression of silent asking and divining of her face, set in such effective contrast, profile against profile, to that of the Virgin. I think it may be said that in this fresco we have, as it were, the quintessence of all the qualities that go to make up Giotto's greatness as an artist.

Alongside of such a proof of Giotto's greatness when dealing with a situation in which only a few actors are involved, the Arena chapel also contains some striking examples of his power to express the emotion of moods. Such a one is, for instance, the fresco which shows the suitors of Mary watching the rods deposited on the high altar, and waiting for one of

¹ "Die Linie seiner Elisabeth (Padua, Arena) die sich beugt und dabei der Maria ins Auge sieht, vergisst man nicht."—H. Wölfflin, *op. cit.*, p. 8.



PLATE 11. — GIOTTO: THE VISITATION.
Padua, Santa Maria dell' Arena. (Photo Anderson).

GIOTTO

them to blossom out, thereby indicating who is to win Mary (Plate 12). The feelings of the suitors as they wait for the miracle to happen are expressed with the utmost intensity in a composition of great boldness in its simplicity, with all the figures kneeling in the foreground, some in breathless suspense, others in fervent prayer. From the point of view of design, the manner in which the slanting and upright lines of the figures are brought into harmony with the slanting lines and uprights of the building is perfectly marvellous. And when abandoning this style of extreme simplicity in the composition, and restriction of movement, Giotto is equally successful. Take, for instance, his scene of the Lamentation over the dead body of Christ (Plate 13). The tragic sentiment of the mourners who have gathered round the dead body of Christ reaches in the figure of St. John the pitch of absolutely frantic sorrow as he throws back both his arms as far as they will go, and that note is echoed in the highly dramatic figures of the angels in the sky; whilst the background, with its barren rock and tree bare of leaves, offers one of the first instances in art history of the treatment of landscape so as to harmonize with and emphasize the general mood of the scene. An analysis of the scheme of the design in this fresco is extremely interesting; on each side of the foreground we have great verticals, column-like in effect as they enclose the central motive. The group round Christ is disposed elliptically—note particularly the way in which the upper curve follows the backs of two of the Maries and the shoulders of the Virgin. The line of the back of St. John repeats, and thereby still further emphasizes, the clear unbroken contour of the back of the woman in front of him, telling with all the greater vigour as her blue mantle is silhouetted against the pink of his garment. That produces an effect of marvellous crescendo, the waves of emotion finally running absolutely free and unbounded in the group of the angels at the top, distracted with grief—though even here an elliptical disposition is vaguely present, and establishes a balance with the group below. It may here be noted that this fresco has some interesting bearings on the work of one of the giants of modern art—namely, Ingres. When a young student in the atelier of David, Ingres was in close sympathy with that group of his fellow pupils nicknamed “*Les Penseurs*” or “*Les Primitifs*,” because they praised Egyptian, Greek, and Mediæval art. Having gone to Italy and seen the frescoes of the Campo Santo at Pisa, Ingres wrote to a friend that “it is on one’s knees that one ought to copy these men,” and on his arrival in Florence he was full of the wonders of the Church of the Carmine, “where there is a chapel which you

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

might call the anteroom of paradise ; it is painted by Masaccio, an old painter of the Renaissance." In the view of contemporary critics such an early work by Ingres as his *Ædipus and the Sphinx* in the Louvre, painted while his artistic sympathies were as I have indicated, was archaic and primitive in the extreme. We know that this initial asperity of Ingres's style was later considerably softened ; but throughout his life he remained an ardent student and admirer of Giotto, making his students do tracings from the compositions of that master. Indeed, the very last drawing Ingres ever did, a day or two before his death in 1867, was a tracing of this very fresco by Giotto of the Deposition of Christ,¹ so persistent with him was the bias which owed its origin to the associations of his early youth.

A fresco of singular impressiveness is that of the *Noli me Tangere* (Plate 14). The disposition of the traditional elements of the composition—the two angels seated on the tomb, the soldiers asleep in front of it, the Magdalen and Christ—is carried out with an unfailing sense of majestic rhythmic sweep. If one but looks at the placing of the four principal heads, how absolutely right is it not from the point of view of design. The drama of the meeting between the Magdalen and Christ is rendered with extraordinary effectiveness, the artist's grasp of psychology being equalled by his sense of expressive movement. And again, the language of the hands—how nobly eloquent it is !

The adjoining fresco of the Ascension of Christ is as a composition rather haphazard and indeed sketchy (Plate 15) ; but it achieves a very fine effect for one thing in the magnificent figure of Christ rising heavenward, with arms uplifted and seen in profile—conforming in this last respect with the Byzantine tradition of which we find an echo also in one of Jacopo Bellini's drawings of this subject in the London Sketch Book. Moreover, the way in which the artist manages to convey the irresistible aspiration of all these congregations in heaven and on earth towards one common object is most impressive : the scene has here a definitely hieratic significance, very different from the dramatic turbulence of the San Clemente composition of four or five centuries earlier.

No appreciation of the frescoes in the Arena chapel must omit if only a brief reference to the great innovation in the composition of the Last Judgment, which consists in the device of disposing the apostles along a foreshortened curve—a motive of which the full development is seen in

¹ It may be seen reproduced in M. Henry Lapauze's volume on Ingres.



PLATE 12. — GIOTTO: THE WAIT OF THE SUITORS OF THE VIRGIN.
Padua, Santa Maria dell' Arena. (Photo Anderson).



PLATE 13.—GIOTTO : THE LAMENTATION OVER THE DEAD CHRIST.
Padua, Santa Maria dell' Arena.

GIOTTO

Raphael's *Disputà* in the Vatican ; or to the extraordinary expressive power shown by Giotto in the monochrome allegories of the Vices and Virtues. And altogether the decoration of the Arena chapel, whether we individually like it more or less than other works by Giotto, undoubtedly holds an absolutely central position in Giotto's production. It is the *œuvre type* of the artist by preference to all others.

The last works by Giotto with which I shall deal are the frescoes painted by him in two chapels in the Church of Santa Croce at Florence. We have it on the evidence of Ghiberti that four chapels in that church were decorated by Giotto, and it stands to reason that the frescoes painted by him in Santa Croce, one of the principal churches in Florence, must have been the main channel through which his influence on the Florentine school of painting was wielded. It is consequently all the more regrettable, on historical grounds alone, that these frescoes should all towards the end of the seventeenth century have been covered with whitewash, from under which in the course of the last century only the paintings of the two chapels alluded to—the Bardi and the Peruzzi chapels—emerged, the frescoes in the other two chapels being irretrievable ; and equally regrettable, moreover, that the frescoes that did come to light again should have been most ruthlessly repainted. As to the date of these frescoes, we are left very much in the dark ; it is evident from their style that they are later works than the frescoes in the Arena chapel, and the presence in the Bardi chapel of a nimbed figure of St. Louis of Toulouse, who was not canonized until 1317, affords grounds for thinking that the frescoes in that chapel are later than that year. All things considered, we are probably justified in placing these frescoes in the 'twenties, seeing that at the beginning of the 'thirties Giotto spent several years in Naples, and afterwards in Florence, as we saw, was burdened with considerable official duties.

Greatly travestied as these frescoes, then, have reached us, it is yet possible to draw many deductions as regards their style and artistic import ; and we need feel no hesitation in concluding that they show Giotto as having taken a considerable stride beyond the point he had reached in the Arena frescoes. Indeed, to us, the Santa Croce frescoes show the final consummation of Giotto's art as a fresco painter, so far as at present ascertainable, no trace at all having survived of the frescoes he painted at Naples. The development disclosed is in the direction of a great increase of monumental quality of style ; of largeness of disposition ; of effectiveness in the suggestion of three-dimensional space. The language of art is at once

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

infinitely freer and more flexible than before, and marked by a new note of heroic grandeur. As a result of these characteristics, an anticipation of Masaccio's methods, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, is very patent ; and it would be of the utmost interest if we could definitely ascertain whether these frescoes also in their original condition showed an approach to Masaccio's characteristic method of handling light and shade with a view to articulating the composition. There certainly is evidence of this in these paintings as at present existing ; but the enormous extent to which they have been retouched must warn us to be very cautious in drawing conclusions on this point.

As already mentioned, the frescoes of the Bardi chapel represent (apart from a few single figures) a number of scenes from the legend of St. Francis ; and I have also emphasized the way in which these frescoes take up motives from the series at Assisi, presenting them in a new form reflecting an infinitely greater resource and experience—this use of motives from the earlier series being, it was pointed out, a strong proof of Giotto's authorship of the Assisi frescoes. The frescoes in the Peruzzi chapel represent three scenes each from the lives of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist (Plate 16). One, the Banquet of Herod, is rather differentiated from the rest of the series by being carried out in a charming narrative vein, laying emphasis on such engaging details as the figure of the fiddler in his modish dress and the gaily striped hanging which covers the wall of the loggia—a motive anticipated in the *Marriage of Cana* in the Arena chapel (Plate 17). Full-blown heroic drama is seen in the fresco of the Raising of Drusiana, where the story of the miracle is unfolded in a frieze-like composition of magnificent amplitude and grandeur, the imposing architectural background forming a perfect accompaniment to sequence of figures, and helping admirably to accentuate the striking principal incident. In the fresco of the Assumption of St. John the Evangelist (Plate 18) it is as if we saw refined and sublimed that gift of interpreting a situation of sudden and intense agitation, which quite at the beginning of Giotto's career we found so finely evidenced in the fresco of the Death of the Knight of Celano. The Golden Legend tells us how St. John the Evangelist, on feeling his end approaching, went down into the grave which he had had dug for him in his church, and prayed ; he was then surrounded by so strong a light that the spectators were blinded, and when the light disappeared it was found that the tomb was empty. Nothing could be more graphic than the way in which Giotto has conveyed the dramatic account of the legend in his



PLATE 14.—GIOTTO: NOLI ME TANGERE. Padua, Santa Maria dell' Arena.



PLATE 15.—GIOTTO: THE ASCENSION. Padua, Santa Maria dell' Arena.

GIOTTO

fresco ; and yet there is harmony and majestic repose. The greatest intensity of drama effect goes hand in hand with the most imposing monumental quality. A century later, when Masaccio created the style of the early Quattrocento, this was the tradition which he linked up with, past the very different tendencies which found expression in the art of Masaccio's own Florentine contemporaries.

Chapter III

FLORENTINE FOURTEENTH CENTURY PAINTERS AFTER GIOTTO

Taddeo Gaddi—Bernardo Daddi—Stefano and Maso—Andrea Orcagna, Nardo di Cione, and Jacopo di Cione—Andrea Bonaiuti—Agnolo Gaddi—Giovanni da Milano—Antonio Veneziano—"Gherardo Starnina"—Spinello Aretino—Niccolò di Pietro Gerini—The Late Gothic tendency in Florence : Lorenzo Monaco.

THE art of Giotto exercised a most powerful influence on the work of the next few generations of painters, especially in Florence, but also in other parts of Italy ; nor is this to be wondered at, so effective and complete was the formula of art elaborated by him, and so widely had it been propagated by him during his long and active life. Receiving an incomparable impetus from the work and example of Giotto, a most tremendous pictorial activity now sets in in Florence, and continues all through the century—the Trecento—and beyond. It was an activity which found expression both in panel pictures and in frescoes, not to mention the illuminations—the ancient technique of mosaic, on the other hand, suffered an almost complete eclipse—and though much of its pictorial output has unfortunately perished, enough remains for us to obtain a very clear idea of the Florentine School of the Trecento. Speaking more particularly of frescoes, even one walk through the spacious aisles and transepts of the great Church of Santa Croce, where cycle upon cycle of wall paintings succeeds each other, will most impressively bring home to one how astounding in quality as well as quantity the production of the successive generations of Florentine masters during the Trecento was within this domain of art.

Taddeo Gaddi is the direct pupil of Giotto, who held him over the baptismal fonts. He was the son of an artist, Gaddo Gaddi, a mosaic painter, and through his own sons, the most notable of whom was Agnolo, the artistic tradition of Giotto was carried on, in a kind of apostolic succession, to the very threshold of the Quattrocento. Agnolo's pupil, again,



PLATE 16.—GIOTTO: THE BANQUET OF HEROD (Detail). Florence, Santa Croce.



PLATE 17. — GIOTTO: THE RAISING OF DRUSIANA.
Florence, Santa Croce. (Photo Anderson).



PLATE 18. — GIOTTO: THE ASSUMPTION OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST.
Florence, Santa Croce. (Photo Anderson).

XIVTH CENTURY PAINTERS AFTER GIOTTO

was Cennino Cennini, the famous author of a treatise on art of the utmost value through the light it throws on the practice of the contemporary Florentine painters.¹ Taddeo Gaddi is the orthodox guardian of the formula of Giotto; and little wonder if, as Cennino Cennini says, he stayed with his master for no fewer than twenty-four years. His principal work as a fresco painter now surviving is the series of subjects from the life of the Virgin with which he, between 1332 and 1338, decorated the Baroncelli chapel in the Church of Santa Croce. He appears in these as an artist who has founded his style on the manner of Giotto as seen in the frescoes of the Peruzzi chapel in the same church; following his master a little soullessly and mechanically, and not without some over-emphasis of his peculiarities, but at the same time disclosing throughout an undeniable sense of large and imposing design. Moreover, certain of the frescoes in the Baroncelli chapel mark a very definite advance in the naturalistic rendering of effects of light. In the *Announcement to the Shepherds*, for instance (Plate 19), Taddeo Gaddi shows the scene as actually taking place in the night, the darkness being broken by the celestial apparition which is reflected on the ground and the figures of the Shepherds; and the fresco representing the Star appearing to the Magi is carried out in a similar vein. When Giotto represents a night scene, as in the fresco of the Capture of Christ, in the Arena chapel, there is no attempt at naturalism in the rendering of light; but the attempts along these lines by Taddeo Gaddi remained for a long time isolated.

In Bernardo Daddi, who is first heard of about 1317 and died in 1348, Giotto had a younger contemporary and follower who possessed greater individual talent than Taddeo Gaddi, and also did not allow himself to remain exclusively within the shackles of Giotto's tradition. Indeed, Bernardo Daddi is one of the first Florentine painters to show a definite influence from the school of Siena, with its sense of harmonious pattern and exquisite silhouetting; and altogether the spirit of later Gothic art, with its increased melodiousness of design, begins to make itself very decidedly felt in Bernardo Daddi's style. His surviving works are almost entirely panel pictures, mostly small altar-pieces for private chapels, and several of them are among the most attractive productions of Florentine Trecento art. We can, however, without leaving Santa Croce, see the one extant example of Bernardo Daddi's work as a fresco painter—the series of wall

¹ Accessible to English readers in Lady Herringham's excellent translation (*The Book of Art of Cennino Cennini*, London, 1899).

(3,876)

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

paintings in the Pucci-Berardi chapel. The principal of these are two large compositions, one representing two scenes from the life of St. Stephen (Plate 20), and the other the Martyrdom of St. Lawrence. As a whole they are neither of them creations of much compelling power, though in individual passages they certainly give evidence of that gift of effective silhouetting which Bernardo Daddi possessed, and from which many of his pictures on a small scale, Crucifixions and others—I am thinking particularly of the little predella piece of a Dominican saint preaching, whilst his congregation is frightened by a runaway horse, in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris—derive great dramatic impressiveness.

Among the pupils of Giotto, Lorenzo Ghiberti—on the whole a very good guide in these matters—mentions one Stefano and one Maso, assigning a string of works to both; and indeed already half a century earlier Filippo Villani, writing about 1400, makes brief but highly praising reference to these artists among the followers of Giotto, applying to Stefano the term “Ape of Nature” (*scimmia della natura*), of which it will be recalled that a distant echo reverberates in the only passage relating to Italian Renaissance art which we can trace in Shakespeare—the confused reference to Giulio Romano in the Fifth Act of *The Winter’s Tale*. Later, a Florentine chronicler of the early sixteenth century assigns one of the works given by Ghiberti to Maso, to one Giotto; and the height of confusion was reached when Vasari created an entirely fictitious artist, “Tommaso di Stefano, called Giotto,” to whom he gives all the works assigned by previous writers to Maso and to Giotto; and he also has a life of Stefano Fiorentino, mentioning—like Ghiberti—only paintings which now have disappeared. With Ghiberti’s Maso the position is different, for there does survive, again in Santa Croce, a series of frescoes definitely assigned by Ghiberti to Maso, and the artistic quality of these paintings is such as to give their painter very distinguished rank among the followers of Giotto. Nothing historically concrete is known about this Maso, as we must simply call him, though it is conceivable that he was identical with one Maso di Banco who is mentioned in Florentine records of 1341 and 1346.

The frescoes painted by Maso in the chapel in Santa Croce formerly containing the tomb of Andrea Bardi (not to be confused with the Bardi chapel decorated by Giotto) illustrate a legend of great picturesqueness—that of St. Sylvester, Bishop of Rome, by whom the Emperor Constantine was received into the Church. We cannot here deal with the successive incidents of the legend as illustrated by Maso, but will restrict our remarks to



PLATE 19. — TADDEO GADDI: THE ANNOUNCEMENT TO THE SHEPHERDS.
Florence, Santa Croce. (Photo Brogi).



PLATE 20. — BERNARDO DADDI: THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. STEPHEN.

Florence, Santa Croce. (Photo Brogi).

XIVTH CENTURY PAINTERS AFTER GIOTTO

one of these frescoes (Plate 21). On the left, St. Sylvester is seen descending into a pit and overcoming a dragon, the poisonous breath of which had for days destroyed hundreds of people. On the right the saint reappears, restoring to life two magicians who were among the victims of the dragon ; the scene being witnessed by the Emperor Constantine, standing on the extreme right surrounded by his Court. The method of continuous representation, here exemplified, was already resorted to in early Christian art, and very largely in Mediæval art before Giotto ; Giotto himself did not actually avoid it (it occurs, for instance, in the fresco of the Banquet of Herod in the Peruzzi chapel), but, so far as the available evidence goes, employed it very seldom. Maso in this instance carries the method to extremes which suggest the cinema film ; for in the scene of the resuscitation we have first the inanimate bodies of the magicians stretched on the ground, and immediately behind them the kneeling figures of the same magicians restored to life. For all that, the artist has managed to articulate the composition cleverly in its main divisions, the episode of the capture of the dragon being enclosed in an upright architectural setting as if on the wing of a triptych. Spatial recession is also successfully suggested by the sequence of architectural motives occurring at different intervals of distance from the picture plane ; and taking his cue from the legend's story of the death and destruction wrought by the dragon, Maso has here presented us with perhaps the first consistent " landscape with ruins " known to the history of art, and a most impressive one. In the heads of the figures we notice a considerable advance in delicacy and sensitiveness of modelling and expression, the result being not unlike the style of Bernardo Daddi as seen in his panel pictures ; and, as in the case of Daddi, there can be no doubt that Maso was helped towards the formation of his style by a strong Sienese influence, the main channel for this being probably one of the greatest masters of Siena, Ambrogio Lorenzetti, who, it is on record, lived in Florence between 1332 and 1334. Ghiberti, it is interesting to note, uses about Maso the expression that he " summed up " (*compendio*) art ; and the St. Sylvester series certainly shows him as a master of extraordinary resource and accomplishment.

An artist who occupies an important position in the Florentine School of the middle of the fourteenth century is Andrea Orcagna, who worked both as a sculptor and as a painter, and in the latter capacity was largely associated with his two brothers, Nardo di Cione and Jacopo di Cione. It is to Nardo that Ghiberti definitely assigns the gigantic fresco of Hell

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

in the Strozzi chapel in the Church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence, a composition interesting enough iconographically through being based on Dante's *Divina Commedia*, but scarcely to be treated as a work of art. Nardo is probably also the artist chiefly responsible for the two other equally enormous frescoes in this chapel, one representing the Last Judgment and the other Paradise—the latter a somewhat primitively formal design, with countless angels and saints disposed in long straight rows, surrounding the figures of Christ and the Virgin enthroned at the summit of the composition. The effect is nevertheless quite impressive, and among the individual figures there are many distinguished by great nobility of form and expression. The whole may be looked upon as the typical expression of the *juste-milieu* in Florentine painting about the middle of the Trecento.

Well on in the second half of the century we have to place the date of one of the most elaborate works of fresco decoration ever carried out in Florence—the series of wall-paintings in the former chapter-house of the Church of Santa Maria Novella, known since the sixteenth century as the Cappella degli Spagnuoli. The tradition as to the author of these frescoes had got entirely lost by the time Vasari wrote, as he assigns them to “Simone of Siena” and Taddeo Gaddi. On the evidence of style, an ascription to the painter Andrea Bonaiuti da Firenze (long known to be the painter of three frescoes illustrating the life of St. Ranieri in the Campo Santo at Pisa) was suggested by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, and this attribution has been fully borne out by a record discovered not long ago in the archives of Santa Maria Novella. It is a document dating from 1365, by which Andrea undertakes to complete the paintings in the chapter-house within the next two years. Whether the artist was able to carry out this undertaking we do not know; in any case he is not likely to have worked at the frescoes without the aid of assistants, extraordinarily homogeneous though the effect of the whole is.

These frescoes, before which generations of readers of *Mornings in Florence* have worshipped, are so well known that I will not here go into any minute details of description. It will suffice briefly to recall that the whole is a most complex religious allegory, reflecting a typically mediæval conception of the world, and more particularly laying stress upon the great part played in the scheme of existence by the Order of St. Dominic. Thus, on the two principal walls, we have, on the left of the entrance, an Allegory of the Church Militant, together with an illustration of the path leading through

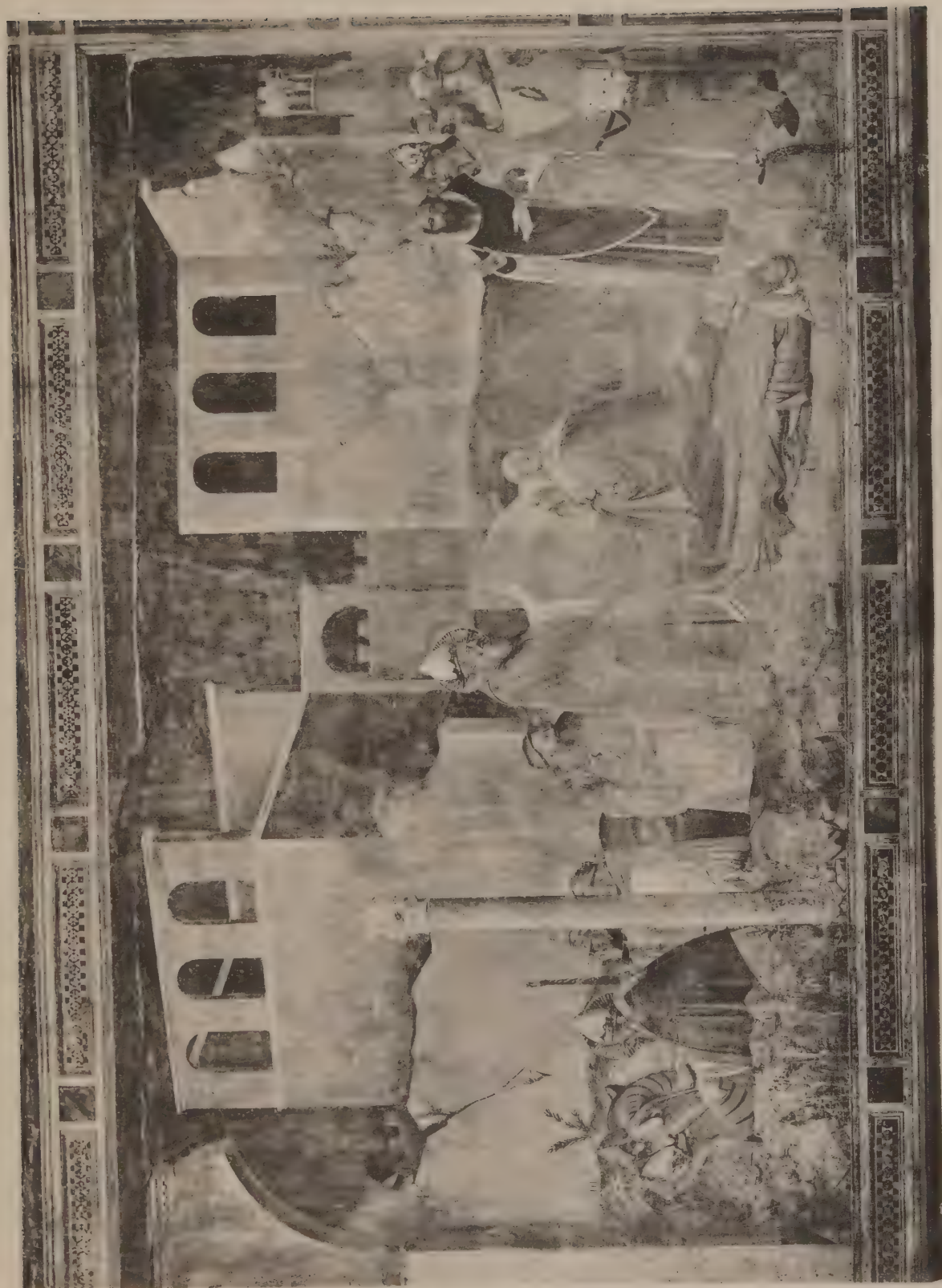


PLATE 21. — MASO: THE LEGEND OF ST. SYLVESTER.
Florence, Santa Croce.

XIVTH CENTURY PAINTERS AFTER GIOTTO

penitence to eternal happiness (Plate 22). The Pope is seen in the foreground of the composition, enthroned in front of a large Gothic church and surrounded by the highest representatives of civic and ecclesiastical power enthroned alongside him, while below are representations of various other categories of the faithful, including, through a sudden *volte-face* into completely incongruous symbolism, the sheep of the Christian fold being guarded by dogs—*Domini canes*, the famous mediæval pun on the name of the Dominican Order. Elsewhere the dogs are shown attacking the wolves symbolizing the heretics, whom St. Dominic is also seen confuting in the flesh, while higher up he is represented leading those who have repented of earthly joys—very delightfully depicted—into the abodes of eternal bliss. On the wall opposite is seen the Triumph of St. Thomas Aquinas, who sits on a throne surrounded by various prominent characters from the Old and the New Testaments, while three pagan or heretic philosophers are shown at the foot of the throne in the attitude of defeat. Lower down we have the famous series of Virtues and Sciences, each symbolized by a female figure enthroned, and at her feet a celebrated exponent of the abstract concept involved. The entrance wall is occupied by a number of scenes from the legend of another famous Dominican, St. Peter Martyr; on the choir wall is represented the Crucifixion, between the Procession to Calvary and the Harrowing of Hell; and on the ceiling, finally, are depicted Christ rescuing St. Peter from the Waves, the Resurrection, the Descent of the Holy Ghost, and the Ascension (Plate 23). Entirely apart from the impossible theological abstruseness of the subject-matter in certain passages, Andrea Bonaiuti's art is undoubtedly to some extent rather a rigid and lifeless one, and all through there tends to be a certain blatancy and forcing of tone; but that the decoration of the Spanish chapel is impressive both in detail and as a whole there is no denying. The Sienese influence which we have already detected elsewhere in Florentine Trecento painting here comes to the fore in full strength; so much so indeed that Vasari's ascription to Simone Martini of part of these frescoes, though, of course, entirely incorrect, is by no means absolutely incongruous.

Nor is this Sienese influence absent from the work of Taddeo Gaddi's son Agnolo, reared though he had been in the direct Giottesque tradition by his father. Agnolo Gaddi, who is first heard of in 1369 as the assistant of his brother Giovanni when the latter was engaged upon some frescoes (now long since gone) in the Vatican, and who died in 1396, is a very notable figure in the Florentine School of the last quarter of the Trecento. This

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

was the period which witnessed the growth in Florence of several large ateliers, employing numerous artists and undertaking an enormous amount of work, both panel pictures and series of frescoes, at home, and also in other cities of Tuscany. Agnolo Gaddi was the head of one such atelier, and to this day there survive two important series of frescoes carried out by him. One is in the chapel of the Holy Girdle in the Cathedral of Prato, and the other in the choir of the Church of Santa Croce in Florence; and it is of the latter that we shall treat in some detail, as it is from many points of view of exceptional interest.

The exact date of Agnolo Gaddi's Santa Croce frescoes is not known; but the available historical evidence, taken together with considerations of style, leads us to place them somewhere about the year 1380. Their subjects are derived from the famous mediæval legend of the Cross, which in the next century was to supply the theme for one of the greatest works of Italian painting, the series of frescoes by Piero della Francesca in the Church of San Francesco at Arezzo. It is a legend crowded with detail and picturesque incident; and Agnolo Gaddi faced it primarily in the spirit of a narrator. This leads him in some of these frescoes to go to lengths in the application of the method of continuous representation which are quite unparalleled elsewhere in Florentine painting. The fresco here reproduced offers a particularly striking illustration of this tendency (Plate 24). The incident in the legend here depicted is as follows: Chosroës, King of the Persians, being desirous of obtaining some pieces of the true cross which were kept at Jerusalem, ventured within the gates of that city and stole three pieces. He thereupon made off, but was pursued by the Emperor Heraclius, to whom an angel had appeared whilst he was asleep in his tent foretelling that he would be victorious in his battle with the Persian, which also happened. With this information in our minds, we can proceed to interpret the fresco: First, Chosroës in a temple-like building, worshipped by his followers; then the apparition of the angel to Heraclius asleep in his tent; and finally the victory of Heraclius over Chosroës, the battle taking place on a bridge. But it is all set out in a kind of confused shorthand, which, unless you know the story well, reduces the whole to a completely unintelligible jumble—the method of continuous representation with a vengeance! We have travelled far indeed from Giotto's style of dramatic narrative, with its absolute limpidity of meaning and immediately apprehended spatial construction; to the opposite pole to it, in fact. Not all the paintings in the series are put together in this fashion—the fresco of the



PLATE 22.—ANDREA BONAIUTI: THE CHURCH MILITANT (Detail).
Florence, Spanish Chapel, Santa Maria Novella.



PLATE 23.—ANDREA BONAIIUTI: THE HARROWING OF HELL.
Florence, Spanish Chapel, Santa Maria Novella.

XIVTH CENTURY PAINTERS AFTER GIOTTO

Finding of the Cross, for instance, is a comparatively simple effective design, with background and foreground clearly differentiated ; but that does not detract from the symptomatic importance of the others. The individual figures and incidents are undoubtedly at the same time often of great expressiveness. The settings of landscape and architecture follow more or less the accustomed Giottesque lines ; as to the figures, reminiscences of Giotto's manner have certainly not disappeared, but in the proportions and the style of drapery design, the Late Gothic tendency to slenderness and long gliding lines is already making itself unmistakably felt, and the same tendency accounts for the greater sensitiveness of the faces, in which, however, there is comparatively little individualization.

Among Agnolo Gaddi's contemporaries a notable figure is the painter Giovanni da Milano, a native, as his name indicates, of the north of Italy, but, so far as available records show, mainly working in Florence. As a fresco painter his principal surviving work is the series of subjects from the life of the Virgin in the Rinuccini chapel in the Church of Santa Croce, which he was commissioned to paint in 1365 ; they have unfortunately been much repainted, but can still be appreciated as compositions of a noble and monumental character.

Another important contemporary of Agnolo Gaddi, also hailing from the north of the peninsula, was Antonio Veneziano, who probably owed the first artistic impulses received by him in Florence to Taddeo Gaddi, and of whose work as a fresco painter the principal surviving remains are three paintings in the Campo Santo at Pisa, which on the evidence of records may be dated 1384-86. They illustrate scenes from the legend of St. Ranieri, and although they have all been more or less injured, what remains of them suffices abundantly to demonstrate Antonio Veneziano's keen realization of the facts of the visible world, his gifts as a vivid storyteller, and his remarkable sense of colour. Again, to the immediate following of Agnolo Gaddi belongs an artist, who has been identified, though not so as to carry entire conviction, with the painter Gherardo Starnina, of whom Vasari has a great deal to tell. Panel pictures by this still anonymous artist, easily recognizable through a number of mannerisms, are to be found in many public and private collections ; as a fresco painter he is known to us through the series of scenes from the legend of St. Nicholas, with which he decorated the Castellani chapel in the Church of Santa Croce at Florence.

Mention must now be made of the heads of two great ateliers whose

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

activity extends into the early part of the fifteenth century—Spinello Aretino and Niccolò di Pietro Gerini. With these masters, painting became to a large extent an industrialized concern ; and they were thus able to cope with an astounding number of orders, though it stands to reason that the individuality of the head of the concern could only to a limited extent find expression in its pictorial output. Moreover, at times, these masters would undertake work jointly ; as witness the altar-piece (now in the Accademia in Florence) which in March 1399 Spinello Aretino, Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, and his son Lorenzo di Niccolò are recorded as having painted in association for the monastery of Santa Felicita in Florence. Of the two artists mentioned at the head of this paragraph, Spinello Aretino—who was born about 1345 and died in 1410—was without doubt the more gifted one ; and he is seen at his best in his large fresco cycles, in which the spirit of the mediæval legend or chronicle has been admirably caught, and the story is set forth with delightful ease and natural circumstance. The work of his in which these characteristics are most attractively displayed is perhaps the cycle of frescoes carried out by him, together with his son, Parri Spinelli, right at the end of his career (from 1408 onwards), on the walls of the Sala della Balia in the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena ; and these paintings are also notable as affording one of the very few instances known of the employment of an artist of the Florentine School on a task of such importance at Siena. They illustrate the story of the conflict between Venice and the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in which Pope Alexander III., who was a native of Siena, played a very prominent part ; hence the presence of this subject among those depicted on the walls of the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena, while it will be remembered that the even greater importance of the story from the Venetian point of view caused it to be represented from the fourteenth century onwards by generation after generation of Venetian painters on the walls of the Ducal Palace (Plate 25). The number of incidents illustrated by Spinello is no less than sixteen ; and we follow him with unabated interest as his chronicle unfolds to us pageants, battles, and other picturesque episodes on land and sea. A very attractive work is also the series of frescoes in the sacristy of the Church of San Miniato al Monte outside Florence ; these illustrate with much verve the eventful story of the life of St. Benedict, and having been painted about 1387 belong to a much earlier phase of Spinello's career than the Siena frescoes. A series of subjects from the life of St. John the Baptist, painted by Spinello in a chapel of the Church of Santa Maria del Carmine at Florence, perished



PLATE 24. — AGNOLO GADDI: THE LEGEND OF THE TRUE CROSS.
Florence, Santa Croce. (Photo Alinari).

XIVTH CENTURY PAINTERS AFTER GIOTTO

by fire in 1771. A number of engravings after these frescoes were published in the following year by Thomas Patch, an English engraver settled in Florence, who through his activities on these lines became an important figure in the history of the rediscovery of the Italian Primitives.¹ Some fragments of Spinello's frescoes (at that time thought to be by Giotto) were saved by Patch. One of them—containing two busts of apostles bowed in grief at the Burial of the Baptist—is now in the National Gallery, and admirably illustrates the expressive power of which the art of Spinello Aretino at its highest was capable.

Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, who in all probability was trained under Taddeo Gaddi, and being first heard of in 1368 died in 1415, is an artist who cannot be placed on the same level as Spinello Aretino. He is rather hard and lifeless, though at times not unimpressive, as witness his fresco of the Resurrection in the sacristy of Santa Croce. His most ambitious works of fresco decoration now surviving are the series in the Church of San Francesco at Pisa (1392) and that in the church of the same saint at Prato.

By the end of the fourteenth century there had developed in Europe a great international movement in late Gothic painting, the results of which are remarkable from many points of view, one being that of their close similarity in the different countries. It is a movement made up by tendencies which to some extent are mutually curiously conflicting and contradictory. We find in it on the one hand a tendency towards a literal, descriptive naturalism, say, when it is a question of delineating a definite portrait or depicting animals, birds, or flowers; and on the other hand a tendency utterly to disregard perspective or the construction of the human body, which will be turned into a medium for expressive abstract rhythm of tone, long slender forms and curves, either softly gliding or wildly intricate, predominating in the design. Among the most significant examples in this international movement of art we may mention the works of Pisanello and Gentile da Fabriano in Italy; the illuminations of the great Book of Hours of the Duc de Berry, painted by Pol de Limbourg and his brothers; and the Wilton Diptych—wherever, and by whom, it was painted. In Florence the chief representative of this art about the turn of the century was that very notable and fascinating artist, Don Lorenzo Monaco—a painter by whom we chiefly possess panel pictures, though there do exist

¹ I have treated of him more fully in an article in the *Quarterly Review*, No. 475, April 1923, p. 261 sq.
(3,376)

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

a few examples of his work as a fresco painter, notably in the Bartolini chapel in the Church of SS. Trinita in Florence and in the convent in Florence known as the Chioostro delle Oblate. The art which Don Lorenzo represents in Florence is one which has an abundant æsthetic *raison d'être*; as to that there can be no question; but it is nevertheless an art against the tendencies of which Masaccio, in creating the new style of painting of the early fifteenth century, marks, as we shall see, a most determined reaction.

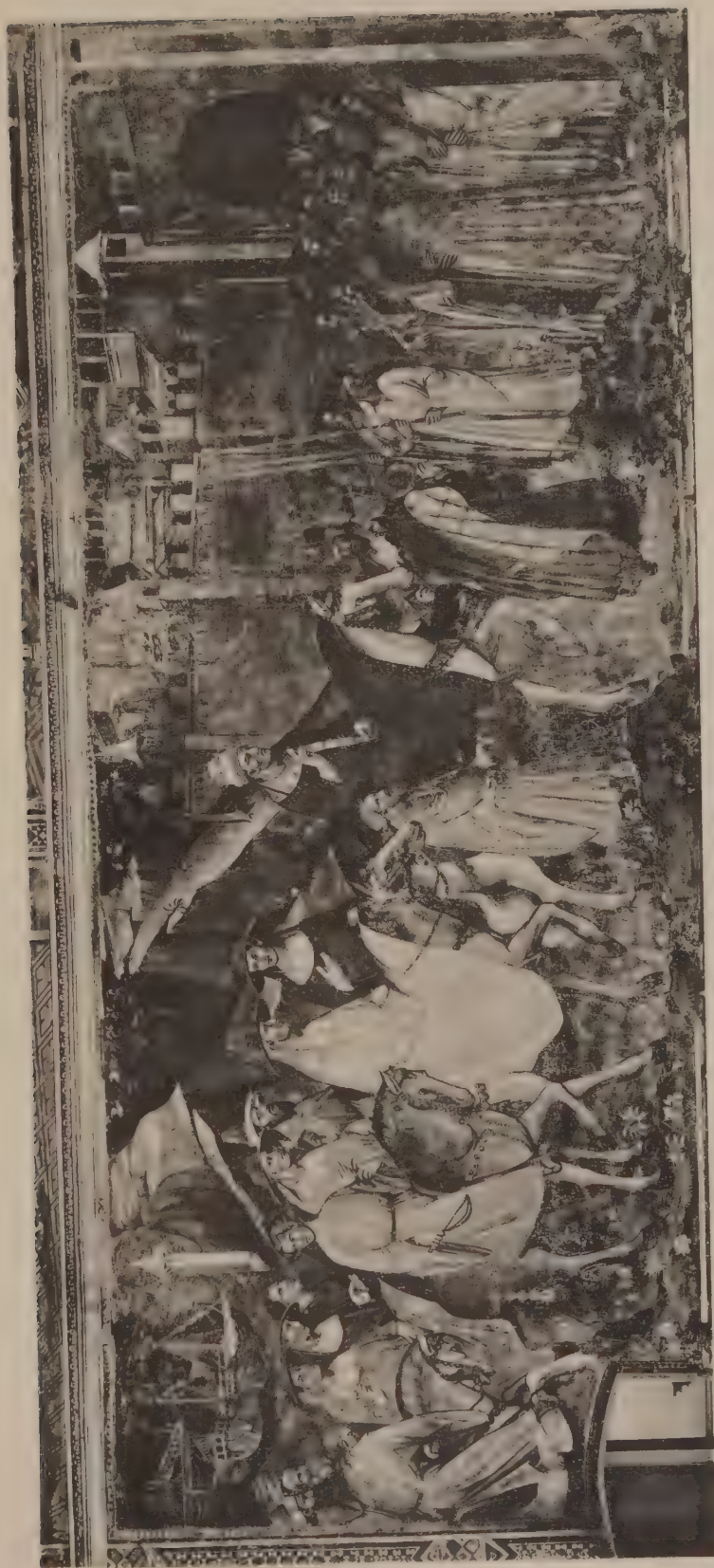


PLATE 25. — SPINELLO ARETINO: POPE ALEXANDER III. RETURNING TO ROME.
Palazzo Pubblico, Siena. (Photo Brogi).

SECTION II
THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Chapter I

MASACCIO

The rise of Quattrocento art: Donatello—Masaccio: general characteristics of his style—Facts about his life—His master Masolino—The frescoes in the Brancacci chapel in the Church of Santa Maria del Carmine at Florence—Other frescoes by Masaccio.

AT the beginning of the fifteenth century—the Quattrocento—a great change extending throughout the whole domain of art—architecture, sculpture, painting—was brought about in Florence; and it is to this revolution that the term Renaissance is, in the first instance, understood to refer, so far as art is concerned. In architecture the language of art of the Gothic style is discarded and the forms of Classical art returned to; and in sculpture and painting, realism and the study of classical models come to the fore. Of the two formative arts, sculpture and painting, it was sculpture which first gave expression to the new ideas, and painting then followed the lead given by sculpture.

The great driving force in Florentine sculpture of the early Quattrocento was Donatello (1386–1466)—the artist indeed in whose work the main tendencies of Florentine Quattrocento art find their most complete and powerful expression, who is the determining factor in shaping the course which the development of Florentine sculpture of the Renaissance took, and whose influence extended most powerfully to painting also. The keynote of Donatello's art is its dramatic force and expressiveness, and what he stands for, too, is a fearless and consistent realism. He has a profound and unerring sense of structure, and in his form there is the utmost individualization. And this mastery in rendering the most varying aspects of visible nature is always with Donatello subservient to an imagination of tremendous depth and power; while through his dramatic expressiveness he appears as the heir of the great artistic tradition of a Giovanni Pisano in sculpture and a Giotto in painting. It is clear beyond any possibility of doubt that Donatello studied Classical art profoundly and profited much

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

by his study, thus acquiring the secret of monumental power and telling simplicity ; but, except in a few works, Donatello cannot really be said to work in the manner of Classical art ; the Antique was to Donatello principally a guide, and not a formula to be repeated. More than once Donatello exploits the expressive value of ugliness ; but when it is required by the feeling he wishes to convey, his forms can be of a purity and loveliness which nothing surpasses. Similarly, Donatello is unsurpassed in interpreting a situation of the most violent agitation ; but that does not prevent him from finding the most impressive accents as the interpreter of calm and inflexible solemnity.

In painting, the new movement is ushered in by Masaccio. Distinguishing characteristics of his art also are dramatic expressiveness and realism. Anatomical structure is closely inquired into ; no longer, as with Lorenzo Monaco, is the human body looked upon only as a means of expressing abstract harmonies of line. His design of drapery is simple and functional. Solidity in the representation of form is aimed at and attained ; every figure is firmly planted on his feet. The linear perspective is scientifically correct ; there is no deliberate seeking after difficulties of perspective, but where they are inevitable Masaccio solves them with perfect success. There is every probability that Masaccio's proficiency in perspective is largely a result of information derived by him from Filippo Brunellesco, the great and imposing figure who stands at the head of the new movement in architecture, and with whom the scientific exploration of perspective begins ; just as Masaccio undoubtedly was helped towards his style of representing the human figure by the influence of Donatello. The ground was thus to a certain extent prepared for Masaccio ; but he was nevertheless the first to apply to painting such new ideas and methods as had been discovered by others, and he gives striking evidence of his creative genius by one great innovation—his method of handling light and shade. With Masaccio we find for the first time in painting not merely a methodical realization of the fact that there exist cast shadows and reflections, but also a constant use of light and shade with a view to articulating the composition, keeping some parts back and accentuating others. It is possible, as we saw, that Giotto in his last works was aiming at something similar ; but however this may be, one thing is essentially true about Masaccio—that he is the real heir to the artistic tradition of Giotto. All that Giotto felt more or less instinctively concerning structure, modelling and perspective, and so on, is by Masaccio carried to its logical conclusion. He is also akin

MASACCIO

to Giotto through his feeling for dramatic expression ; but temperamentally there is in other ways a great difference between the two artists. Masaccio has none of Giotto's geniality and balance ; there is, on the contrary, a curious brusqueness and abruptness about his art ; though, so far from this in any way detracting from the appeal of his art, it on the contrary gives it an added and strange fascination.

Considering how short a space of years was covered by Masaccio's life, what he did is perhaps the most astounding performance the whole of art history can chronicle. He lived to be barely twenty-seven or twenty-eight ; and as for the circumstances of his life, we know of them but the vaguest and most fragmentary outlines. He was born in 1401 in San Giovanni, a little village in the upper valley of the Arno ; in Florence he is first heard of in 1422. In 1426 he was at Pisa working at a great altar-piece, which has been broken up, though several of the panels once composing it still exist ; the Madonna and Child with angels playing on musical instruments, now in the National Gallery, was the central compartment of this altar-piece, which is the only one of his works that can be dated accurately. The next two years we know he spent at Florence ; and then, seven years after he had first appeared, he vanishes from our sight. In the Florentine income tax registers of 1429 his name is struck out, and the official notes in the margin, "He is said to have died at Rome." From the documents we can also infer that he left nothing but debts behind him. All we know of his life for certain, and all we should like to imagine from his works, entirely concords with the charming sketch of his character given by Vasari, who wrote, it is true, more than a century after the death of Masaccio ; but the tradition about Masaccio was clearly at that time still alive in Florence. "He was," says Vasari, "absent-minded and erratic in the extreme, as one who, having fixed his whole mind and will on art, cared little about himself and still less about others. He could by no means be induced to bestow his attention on the cares of the world and the general interests of life, insomuch that he would give no thought to his clothing, nor was he ever wont to ask for payment from those who owed him money until he was first reduced to the greatest straits ; and for all of this, instead of being called Tommaso, which was his name, he received from every one the nickname Masaccio (Tommaso the careless, Tommaso the erratic), not indeed because he was vicious, for he was goodness itself, but merely by reason of his excessive negligence and disregard of himself ; and with all this he was always so charming in helping and pleasing other

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

people that you could not possibly wish for more." With Masaccio thus the Bohemian touch comes in for the first time in the personal aspect of art history.

Vasari states that Masaccio was the pupil of Tommaso di Cristoforo, called Masolino, a Florentine painter who was some twenty-five years his senior and outlived him by a couple of decades. There exist quite a number of works which may be assigned to Masolino with absolute certainty ; in other cases it is again somewhat difficult to draw a dividing line between him and Masaccio. But let there be no misunderstanding on this point : it would never be possible on the strength of any such work to put forward a claim that the great reform in painting was due to Masolino. What one has to decide in such a case is whether the painting is an immature or otherwise unsatisfactory work by Masaccio, or one done by the older painter under the influence of the younger. The discussion turns especially on two points—the frescoes in the chapel on the right of the entrance to the Upper Church of San Clemente in Rome, and certain of the frescoes in the Brancacci chapel in the Church of Santa Maria del Carmine in Florence ; and so complex are the problems of style criticism here involved, and so individual the reactions of different people in this matter, that unanimity will probably never be attained.

By Masolino we possess one work as a fresco painter which is authenticated beyond the possibility of doubt ; a series of frescoes, painted in a church far away from Florence, in a distant city of Lombardy called Castiglione d'Olona. These paintings were executed over a considerable interval, the earlier ones about 1423, the later ones not until about 1435—in other words, several years after Masaccio's death. In the earlier frescoes Masolino is still very markedly the late Gothic painter, and that character does not desert him completely in the later series either, though upon certain points the influence of Masaccio and the new movement in art in Florence (as regards architectural perspective, for instance) is noticeable. As regards the frescoes in San Clemente at Rome the prevailing tendency is now to look upon them as works by Masolino ; they have unfortunately been very drastically repainted, which still further complicates the problem of style criticism. In any case they can never have approached in importance the frescoes in the Brancacci chapel, which must ever hold the centre of any appreciation of the art of Masaccio.

Very little is known concerning the history of the Brancacci chapel. Possibly built towards the end of the fourteenth century, it was the property

MASACCIO

of a Florentine family of that name, and the will of a distinguished member of it, called Felice, which was drawn up in 1422, does contain a reference to the testator's rights in the chapel, but says nothing about the frescoes. The earliest tradition concerning the authorship of the frescoes is contained in the collection of *Lives* of eminent Florentines, written probably between 1482 and 1488 by a celebrated mathematician, Antonio Manetti (1427-1497); here it is said that three masters worked in the Brancacci chapel, and that one of them was Masaccio.¹ Since it is a matter of undisputed historical fact that Filippino Lippi completed the decoration of the Brancacci chapel about 1484, this leaves us with one more name to find. That name is first supplied by Francesco Albertini, who in his *Memoriale* on the art treasures of Florence, published in 1510, says that the frescoes were the work of Masolino and Masaccio. That view is also reflected in the pages of Vasari; but a proof of the confusion which existed in his mind concerning these painters is supplied by the fact that in Vasari's account Masaccio succeeds to Masolino's uncompleted task in the Brancacci chapel, on the death of the latter; whereas, as we have seen, Masolino, dying probably in 1447, survived Masaccio by about twenty years.

The Brancacci chapel is a structure of moderate dimensions, the walls of which form three sides of a hexagon, and the frescoes in it occupy two tiers on the walls and on the two pilasters at the entrance to the chapel. The parts carried out by Filippino Lippi are the lower tier of the wall and pilaster on the right of the altar; the lower tier of the pilaster on the left and two portions of the fresco in the lower tier of the wall on the left of the altar (St. Peter restoring the son of Theophilus to life and St. Peter *in cathedra*). The whole of the series indeed belongs to the period of the first decoration of the chapel, which has not, however, survived in its entirety, for the paintings on the ceiling have been whitewashed. As to the further history of the chapel, it is interesting to note that towards the end of the seventeenth century projects were mooted for pulling down the chapel, but thwarted through the intervention of Vittoria della Rovere, Dowager Grand Duchess of Tuscany. This is a symptom of a more enlightened attitude towards the works of ancient Florentine painting than had obtained at an earlier period of the Seicento; for in 1612 the cloisters of the Carmine witnessed a piece of vandalism strongly commented on, it is true, even in those days, namely, the destruction of a fresco by Masaccio, representing

¹ The author of these *Lives* had particularly good sources for his information about Masaccio. He obtained the exact date of Masaccio's birth (December 21, 1401) direct from Masaccio's brother.

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

the consecration of the church (which took place in 1422), and containing portraits of several celebrated Florentines (Vasari mentions Brunellesco, Donatello, and Masolino). In the eighteenth century the frescoes by Masaccio had a narrow escape on the occasion of the fire in 1771 which destroyed the chapel containing the frescoes by Spinello Aretino.¹ The year before there had appeared a set of engravings by Thomas Patch comprising heads and a few entire compositions reproduced from the frescoes in the Brancacci chapel, and an amusing episode occurred when these engravings first reached England. Horace Walpole grew very excited at seeing them, "not remembering" that he had seen the originals when he visited Florence, as he put it very charitably to himself—and wrote to a friend expressing the hope that the study of these engravings might be profitable to Sir Joshua. "They may give him such lights as may raise him prodigiously." Little did he know that Sir Joshua had years before made a careful study of the originals on the spot—as witness his appreciative notes on the Brancacci frescoes among the memoranda of his Italian journey and his reference to them in his Twelfth Discourse—and, unlike himself, "remembered" them very well.

As to the state of preservation of the frescoes in the Brancacci chapel, it is by no means all that could be desired, the colours having to a large extent faded through the action of damp; on the other hand they have never been very extensively repainted, and the contrast between the Carmine frescoes and those in San Clemente (or Giotto's at Santa Croce) is certainly very considerable in that respect.

Perhaps the most celebrated of the frescoes in the Brancacci chapel is the one of the Expulsion from Paradise on the upper tier of the pilaster on the left of the entrance (Plate 26); and it shows indeed to perfection all the characteristics of Masaccio's art. Here, if anywhere, we see his solidity of structure, vigour and delicacy of modelling, perfect command of perspective without any ostentatious display, and his imaginative use of light and shade. Most effective is the broad sweep of shadow behind and along the backs of the figures, suggesting, as it were, a force driving them irresistibly out of a phantom-like existence into the broad and inexorable daylight of reality. The dramatic expression is of an extraordinary intensity, and the subtlety of psychology, seen in the varied expressions of grief, is very wonderful. So high and sublime is the emotional pitch that everything accidental dis-

¹ See above, p. 38 sq.



PLATE 26.—MASACCIO: THE EXPULSION FROM PARADISE.
Florence, Brancacci Chapel, Santa Maria del Carmine.

MASACCIO

appears from the scene, and it gains the significance of an expression of the artist's grief and bitterness over the whole tragedy of existence.

Following this fresco we have, in the upper tier of the wall on the left of the altar, the subject of Christ commanding St. Peter to take the coin out of the mouth of the fish to pay the tribute money (Plates 27 and 28). In accordance with the method of continuous representation, three incidents are here represented alongside each other. Almost in the centre of the composition stands the tax-gatherer, turning his back to the spectator and eagerly stretching his hands towards Christ, who stands surrounded by the apostles and turns calmly to St. Peter with a gesture of command. St. Peter, on whose face the light is made to flash with particular force, is profoundly startled by the order, and his extended right arm—exactly parallel to that of Christ—leads the eye on to the incident in the middle distance by the shore of the lake, where St. Peter is seen kneeling on the ground extracting the coin from the mouth of the fish. On the extreme right, in the foreground, he is seen for the third time, making the payment to the tax-gatherer, who submissively accepts it. There is, of course, something incongruous in the adoption of this method of representation when the treatment of every form is so frankly realistic and the representation of one given three-dimensional space is carried out with perfect consistency; indeed, the scene is enclosed by painted architecture, as if we were looking out into the open air from inside a building. At the same time, the success with which these various incidents have been grouped into a harmonious whole is very remarkable. The dramatic tension of the principal incident grips one with irresistible force; and in the apostles, rugged and austere creatures imbued with a sense of overawing solemnity, Masaccio's power of creating characters is magnificently evidenced.

On the middle wall the two tiers are divided by the altar and the narrow window above it into two upright spaces each. Immediately on the right of the altar is the scene of SS. Peter and John curing the infirm with their shadows (Plate 29). The two apostles are advancing slowly and majestically, moving at right angles to the surface of the fresco; and the fact that we thereby do not realize the whence and the whither of their movement contributes to enhance one's feeling of the mysteriousness of the event. If in the fresco of the Tribute Money there is a considerable affinity to Giotto's style of composition, Masaccio departs from it very definitely here; for the idea of making a figure move straight at the spectator is altogether foreign to Giotto's art. On the left the miracle is being performed on the infirm;

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

one is crouching on the ground, raising his head in expectation ; another is in the act of rising, and a third is already on his feet. Again it will be noticed how the broad contrasts of light and shade contribute to the imaginative effect of the composition ; and a further notable point is the realism of the architectural setting, for which the artist has sought his inspiration in a typical Florentine lane, bordered by houses with *rustica* fronts or overhanging upper stories.

On the same wall, but in the upper tier on the right of the window, is the fresco of St. Peter performing the rite of baptism, which unfortunately has suffered very much from the eruption of salt from the lime of the *intonaco* or plaster (Plate 30). It is, however, still of great interest as an example of Masaccio's study of the nude ; the figure of the youth on the right who stands shivering with cold as he waits for his turn is particularly famous, having, as Vasari remarks, "always been held in reverence and admiration by Old and Modern artists." Within the difficult space, Masaccio has managed to express all the hustle and animation of the scene ; but for all that there is grandeur and monumental effect in the composition, in which the simple and majestic lines of the landscape background play a most important part.

The frescoes hitherto discussed by me are unanimously accepted by present-day criticism as being by Masaccio, and the same applies to the upright fresco immediately on the right of the altar, representing St. Peter distributing alms to the poor. There is further the fresco in the lower tier of the wall on the left of the altar, a populous composition illustrating two incidents ; on the right St. Peter enthroned *in cathedra* with worshippers kneeling in front of him ; and on the left St. Peter restoring the son of Theophilus, "Prince of Antioch," to life. The former episode shows throughout the characteristic manner of Masaccio, and is indeed one of his most powerful conceptions. The other scene is only in part by Masaccio, who evidently never completed it ; and when, about half a century later, Filippino Lippi assumed the task of painting the pictorial decoration of the Brancacci chapel he had to insert two large sections into the foreground of the composition. So far, then, unanimity reigns ; but the difficulty begins when we come to three further frescoes. These are the *Sermon of St. Peter*, an upright composition in the upper tier, immediately on the left of the window above the altar ; *Adam and Eve under the Tree of Knowledge*, in the upper tier of the pilaster on the right, facing the Expulsion from Paradise ; and a large fresco in the upper tier of the left-



PLATE 28.—MASACCIO: THE TRIBUTE MONEY (Detail).
Florence, Brancacci Chapel, Santa Maria del Carmine.



PLATE 29. — MASACCIO: SS. PETER AND JOHN CURING THE INFIRM WITH THEIR SHADOWS. Florence. Brancacci Chapel, Santa Maria del Carmine. (Photo Anderson).



PLATE 30. — MASACCIO: ST. PETER BAPTIZING.
Florence, Brancacci Chapel, Santa Maria del Carmine. (Photo Anderson).

MASACCIO

hand wall, forming a pendant to the fresco of the Tribute Money, and representing on the right St. Peter restoring Tabitha to life, and on the left SS. Peter and John curing the cripple at the gate of the Temple.

Characteristic of all these frescoes is a certain inherent Late Gothic quality. This finds expression in a much greater formalism in the representation of the human figure than one finds in Masaccio's frescoes; the line throughout is more fluent, the tendency is towards a somewhat insipid regularity of form, there is here little or nothing of Masaccio's power of creating rugged austere characters. Also the modelling does not show Masaccio's vigour, and as regards the rendering of space, we are far indeed from Masaccio's clarity and effectiveness. The fresco of the Sermon of St. Peter is very inarticulate in composition; Adam and Eve stand stiffly under the Tree of Knowledge as if stuck on to the background (Plate 31). The fresco which combines the incidents of the Raising of Tabitha and the Curing of the Cripple is spatially more satisfactory than the other two compositions (Plate 32); but it shows, all the same, a somewhat timid primitive disposition, if one compares it with any of the frescoes that immediately suggest the name of Masaccio. This fresco is altogether the one much the nearest to Masaccio; it is far stronger in modelling and more massive in form than the others (the slender figure of Eve with her tiny head being particularly unlike Masaccio); and it is also dramatically far the most successful composition; there is something of Masaccio's power in the way in which Tabitha rises slowly but irrepressibly in response to St. Peter's calm gesture of blessing, while the spectators are struck by amazement. In the handling of light and shade this fresco also shows a notable approach to Masaccio's art, as does for that matter also the fresco of Adam and Eve.

It is inadvisable to draw any very definite conclusion from Vasari, whose account of Masaccio and Masolino is, as we have seen, full of errors; still, the fact remains that he gives the *Sermon of St. Peter* and the *Raising of Tabitha* and *Curing of the Cripple* to Masolino (no mention is made by him of the *Adam and Eve*). And if we turn to the undoubted works by Masolino for comparison, we shall find any number of affinities with these frescoes. Masolino is, as said before, a typical Late Gothic painter; and that is also very much the character of the painter of the frescoes under discussion. But the analogies are far more close and minute than that. A head such as that of the woman looking up to St. Peter in the fresco of the Sermon is absolutely akin to the head of the Virgin in Masolino's *Madonna and Child* in the Old Pinakothek at Munich, or in his picture of

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

the same subject in the Kunsthalle at Bremen ; it is the same cut of features, the same oval, the same empty regularness and faded expression. Again, the two men wearing turban-like head-dresses and short cloaks standing behind St. Peter in the *Raising of Tabitha* immediately suggest the figures of some courtiers in the fresco of the Banquet of Herod at Castiglione d'Olena, which belongs to the later series of paintings by Masolino in that church dating from about 1435.

It is true that nowhere does Masolino in any of his undoubted works show as close an approach to Masaccio as is revealed by these frescoes in the Brancacci chapel ; most definitely not, for instance, in the frescoes at Castiglione d'Olena, painted years after the death of Masaccio. But in the circumstances the conclusion least open to objections, as far as I can see, is that Masolino in the Brancacci chapel worked more or less as the assistant of Masaccio ; following his indications, at times being given greater freedom of action, at times (as, for instance, in the *Raising of Tabitha* and the *Curing of the Cripple*) being very largely under the control of Masaccio. It is not an unheard-of thing for a painter to be the assistant of his former pupil ; and though not an ideal solution, it is, I feel, one which at least does not bristle with difficulties to the extent of any other that can be suggested.

As regards the importance in the history of art of the frescoes by Masaccio in the Brancacci chapel, it may be said that it was through them that his influence on the successive generations of painters in Florence was mainly wielded. To spend some time copying in the Brancacci chapel was looked upon as a part of an artist's education that could on no account be missed. Time after time do we find it stated in Vasari's *Lives* that such and such an artist at the beginning of his career spent some time drawing in the Brancacci chapel ; and in the life of Masaccio he gives a most impressive list of artists who, "training and studying in this chapel, have reached excellence and fame." In consequence it is little wonder that the number of early drawings made from these frescoes, which have come down to us, should not be inconsiderable ; but of any original studies by Masaccio none have, I fear, survived.

Of Masaccio's work as a fresco painter we have one or two examples in addition to the Carmine paintings. In the oratory of Montemarciano, near San Giovanni di Valdarno, Masaccio's birthplace, there is a much damaged fresco of the Madonna and Child with two saints which may be regarded as an early work by Masaccio, and is of much interest in giving



PLATE 31. — MASOLINO: ADAM AND EVE.
Florence, Brancacci Chapel, Santa Maria del Carmine. (Photo Anderson).



PLATE 32.—MASOLINO : ST. PETER RESTORING TABITHA TO LIFE (Detail).
Florence, Brancacci Chapel, Santa Maria del Carmine.

MASACCIO

clear evidence of his artistic descent from Masolino. Of far greater importance, however, is a large fresco in the Church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence, now unfortunately also much damaged. Very simple in composition, it shows a symbolical reproduction of the Trinity under an arched portico of very noble Renaissance design, between the Virgin and St. John, and in the foreground two kneeling figures of donors, a man and a woman. Even in its present condition it is a work of great impressiveness, the figures showing Masaccio at the height of his power of imposing design and striking characterization. The fresco originally occupied a very high position (from which it has been removed by being sawn from the wall) ; the centre of vision is accordingly chosen very low, and the skilful perspective was enthusiastically praised already by Vasari.

A few of Masaccio's extant works have here been left unmentioned, and we know, of course, that certain of his paintings have perished ; but nevertheless the number of his works can at no time have been great. And yet it is not to be disputed that with him there begins a new chapter in the history of painting. This is a fact which has an interesting bearing on a problem involved in the study of a later phase in the history of Italian painting—the art of Giorgione. He, too, exercised a far-reaching influence on the development of the school of painting to which he belonged ; but the example of Masaccio proves conclusively that during the Italian Renaissance new ideas had an irresistible effect even if the number of works embodying them was small ; and there is hence no need to assume that Giorgione “ must ” have painted a great many pictures.

Chapter II.

OLDER AND YOUNGER CONTEMPORARIES OF MASACCIO

Fra Angelico—Paolo Uccello—Andrea del Castagno—Domenico Veneziano—Fra Filippo Lippi.

AMONG Masaccio's older Florentine contemporaries there is one to whom he in many ways offers a striking contrast—a very great artist, and one whose influence on the development of Florentine painting was considerable—I mean Fra Angelico. In certain respects Fra Angelico's art is undoubtedly closely linked up with that of the Trecento; the square proportions of his figures strike one as a heritage from Giotto, while on the other hand, in his design of drapery, one notices to the last a clinging to the Gothic sinuosity of line. Moreover, the very pure and brilliant notes of colour in his panel pictures, and the lustrous gold backgrounds in many of them, evoke associations with illuminations in Mediæval manuscripts; while the outlook of monastic piety, which Fra Angelico's work so consistently gives expression to, imparts to them a general tinge of Mediævalism. But it would be a great mistake to think of Fra Angelico merely as the keeper of a dying tradition and entirely out of touch with the progressive artistic movement of his time. This was often done in the past, and it is only comparatively recently that a different view of Fra Angelico's artistic significance has come to prevail—a view which recognizes in him an artist who contributed a great deal to the establishment of the new Quattrocento style in Florence. Symptomatic of this is, for one thing, his strong and structural draughtsmanship—and here we may note that the actual drawings by Fra Angelico are of supremely high artistic quality; there are very few of them in existence, though the library at Windsor Castle is fortunate in possessing one magnificent example, the head and shoulders of a young man. In his spatial design and command of linear perspective Fra Angelico also is at one with the tendencies of the new age; not to speak of such a more external fact as that in his architectural settings he shows a consistent predilection for



PLATE 33.—FRA ANGELICO : THE CRUCIFIXION. Florence, San Marco.

CONTEMPORARIES OF MASACCIO

the forms and proportions of the Renaissance. Up to a point, indeed, the relation of Fra Angelico to Masaccio is comparable to that of Lorenzo Ghiberti to Donatello—Ghiberti, too, remained in close touch with Gothic tradition, and yet helped the new movement in art to a very material extent.

Fra Angelico was born in 1387 in the neighbourhood of Florence. In 1407 he and his brother joined the Dominican Order, entering the monastery at Fiesole; his name before he became a friar was Guido, which he exchanged for "Fra Giovanni," the appellation "Fra Angelico" not having come into use until after his death.¹ The beginning of the fifteenth century was an agitated period in the history of the Church, witnessing keen conflicts between Pope and Antipope; and the reflections of the struggle made themselves felt very noticeably in the lives of the friars in the old Tuscan city. In 1409 the monastery at Fiesole was broken up, consequent upon the election of the antipope Alexander V., who had the support of Florence; some of the friars went to Foligno, others to Cortona, and it was not until after many wanderings and difficulties that the flock was reassembled at Fiesole in 1418. After long years of peaceful existence, the days of wandering began again in 1435, but were soon over, Cosimo de Medici having given the friars the old monastery of San Marco in Florence, where they settled in 1436. The monastery was now rebuilt from the plans of the celebrated Florentine architect Michelozzo Michelozzi, the reconstruction being completed in 1443; and all the while, and for some years to come, Fra Angelico was busy on his great series of frescoes in San Marco, which occupies the central position in the whole of Fra Angelico's life's work. Then there came to him an invitation from a quarter which made refusal impossible—the Pope; and in 1447 Fra Angelico went to Rome to paint frescoes in the chapel of the Sacrament, between St. Peter's and the Vatican. In carrying out these frescoes—which perished when the chapel was pulled down in the sixteenth century—Fra Angelico had many assistants, among whom Benozzo Gozzoli was one; and the work was over by 1449, when Fra Angelico went back to Florence, having in the meantime also done some work, which still survives, on the ceiling of the chapel of the Madonna in the Cathedral of Orvieto. At Fiesole he was elected prior of the monastery, but his stay there was not to be of long duration, for there came a renewed call to the Vatican, and he died at Rome in 1455, his frescoes in the oratory of Pope Nicholas V. in the Vatican being his last work of mural decoration.

¹ He was eventually beatified, hence the further appellation "Beato Angelico."

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

In his life of Fra Angelico, Vasari draws a very vividly coloured picture of the saintliness of the friar-painter ; and it has become one of the common-places of art history that Fra Angelico never would touch a brush before having humbled himself in prayer, nor could he ever represent the Crucified Christ without bursting into tears. Feelings of piety and tenderness, of delight in creation as the work of God, Fra Angelico certainly expresses in his art with extraordinary directness and charm ; but when it comes to violent drama he is apt to fail, and thus forms temperamentally a very striking contrast to Masaccio. Such a fresco as the one occupying the whole of the end wall of the chapter-house of San Marco offers a typical example of Fra Angelico's imaginative attitude. The subject is the Crucifixion (Plate 33) ; but there is no attempt at expressing the drama of Golgotha ; the whole, as has been well said, has more the character of a meditation on the Crucifixion. The historical aspect of the subject is reduced to its narrowest limits—the three crosses, the group of the grieving Maries and St. John—and instead the artist brings in a number of founders of religious orders and other saints, each wrapt in contemplation of the event ; and in rendering their grief the artist has found the most touching accents, as in the figure of the old monk kneeling on the right, turning away from the scene with eyes shut and covering up his face. The series of figures below is very effectively disposed in a quiet frieze-like sequence, the long horizontal of the heads of the standing figures being emphasized all through ; while the three crucified figures stand out against a sky of reddish tinge—a very effective, entirely unprecedented motive, the result, it has been explained, of leaving the red preparation bare, instead of adding the blue, as would have been the normal course (unless indeed the blue has completely faded).

Whoever has experienced the impression of San Marco will especially remember the effect produced by a walk through the corridors and the cells of the upper floor, with their succession of frescoes of scenes from the life of Christ and the Virgin, in most cases brought, so to speak, within range of the life of the monastery through the introduction into the composition of a Dominican saint. A few of these paintings may here be specially noticed. In the third cell we have the Annunciation (Plate 34) : a composition of extraordinary charm, and with a singularly moving realization of the character of the young Virgin receiving the message of the Angel who has stepped into the vaulted Renaissance portico from a lawn, on which, in accordance with the exigencies of fresco painting, the artist has given but a slight indication of the flowers with which he loves



PLATE 34.—FRA ANGELICO: THE ANNUNCIATION. Florence, San Marco.

CONTEMPORARIES OF MASACCIO

to bejewel the foregrounds of his panel pictures. Notably in the rhythm of line of the figure of the Virgin we can here trace a very distinct echo of Late Gothic art, as represented, say, by Lorenzo Monaco; and we may presume that it was under an artist of that type that Fra Angelico studied, though we possess no historical information bearing on this point. In the seventh cell we have the Mocking of Christ (Plate 35); an extraordinarily impressive composition in its simplicity, with the noble figure of Christ, clad in white, seated in front of a blue drapery, against which are silhouetted abbreviated versions of the insults to which He was subjected—a curious traditional motive; while below are seen the figures of the Virgin and St. Dominic overcome by the contemplation of the scene in the centre. Again, in the tenth cell, Fra Angelico has depicted the Coronation of the Virgin (Plate 36), a subject which, like that of the Annunciation, has time after time been interpreted by Fra Angelico with ever fresh appreciation of its possibilities. In the present instance the figures of Christ and the Virgin are made to appear wonderfully etherealized through the white garments, in which they are clad, mingling with the clouds; while below, in marked contrast of tone, are the figures of six saints kneeling—SS. Dominic, Benedict, Thomas Aquinas, Francis of Assisi, Peter Martyr, and Mark. The way in which the different curves of the design have been interwoven into one harmonious whole is particularly admirable.

Of Fra Angelico's activity as a fresco painter in the monastery of San Domenico at Fiesole only few traces survive. A solitary figure of the Crucified Christ, on the wall of the chapter-house, is a comparatively early work, of much impressiveness through the way in which the silhouette, unusually slender for Fra Angelico, is disposed with great symmetry, the head of Christ being inclined not to one side but straight forward. To a much later period belongs a fresco which used to be on the wall of the refectory of San Domenico, from which it, however, has been removed (Plate 37); it is now in the Louvre, where it is placed in one of the galleries adjoining the *Escalier Daru*. The subject is again the Crucifixion, though in this instance there are present the Virgin and St. John, and, after the fashion of so many of the San Marco frescoes, St. Dominic kneeling in the foreground, clasping the cross of Christ. The fresco has suffered a great deal from repainting, it being on record that it was "restored" as far back as 1566 by a young Florentine painter Francesco Mariani; but the noble monumental quality of Fra Angelico's design, and the expressiveness which he infuses into his figures, may still be experienced from it.

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

At Orvieto, Fra Angelico, according to the agreement which he signed in 1447, was to have enjoyed a welcome relief from the summer heat of Rome among the fresh breezes of the hill city ; for it was stipulated that he was to come there for June, July, and August every year as long as he worked for the Pope. In point of fact he only stayed there for the summer of 1447, during which time two sections of the vaulting of the chapel of the Madonna were taken in hand, containing respectively the subjects of Christ as the Judge of the World and the Chorus of Prophets ; and even these compositions—oddly contrasting in style with the much later frescoes by Luca Signorelli by which they are surrounded—were largely carried out by Fra Angelico's assistant, Benozzo Gozzoli.

Of incomparably greater importance are the frescoes in the oratory of Nicholas V. in the Vatican, over which Fra Angelico was busy during the last few years of his life. The scheme of decoration is an elaborate one, and provides for five scenes from the life of St. Laurence on the walls (the wall behind the altar being left undecorated) ; above these, in three lunettes, six scenes from the life of St. Stephen ; the four Evangelists on the ceiling ; and various other figures on pilasters and arches. These frescoes represent Fra Angelico's nearest approach to the fully developed Quattrocento manner. Altogether there has come into his art a lofty epic spirit, which has not been present there to the same extent before ; and as regards solidity of form, largeness of disposition, and incisiveness of individual characters, these frescoes certainly reach the highest point ever reached by Fra Angelico's art. A scene such as that in which Pope Sixtus II. calmly hands to St. Laurence, kneeling before him, the treasures of the church, while outside two soldiers are trying to force the door leading into the church, is a masterpiece of simple monumental disposition, and at the same time full of great dramatic tension. In the scenes of more violent action—such as St. Stephen being taken outside the city walls, and the Martyrdom of St. Stephen—it is still brought home to one that an expression in that vein did not come quite naturally to Fra Angelico ; but the abiding impression of the frescoes in the oratory of Nicholas V. is that of the extraordinary powers of the artist and also of the closeness of his association with the movement headed by Masaccio.

- In endeavouring to piece together the picture of the principal artistic personalities which go to make up the Florentine school of painting for the first half of the fifteenth century, we may next turn to three artists—Paolo Uccello, Andrea del Castagno, and Domenico Veneziano. Though



PLATE 35.—FRA ANGELICO: THE MOCKING OF CHRIST. Florence, San Marco.



PLATE 36.—FRA ANGELICO: THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN. Florence, San Marco.

CONTEMPORARIES OF MASACCIO

they all are artists of marked individuality, they may be grouped together on account of the similarity of certain tendencies noticeable in their work—the tendency towards realism of style generally, and notably towards a mathematical accuracy of perspective; and further, the tendency to follow models of form created by the contemporary sculptors, more especially Donatello.

Paolo Uccello was the oldest of the three, being probably born in 1397, and thus a few years older than Masaccio. As to his training, it is known that he served his apprenticeship as a goldsmith with Lorenzo Ghiberti, at the time when the latter was busy with the pair of doors for the northern gate of Florence Baptistery, which took twenty-one years to make, and were completed in 1424. In beginning his career by being trained as a goldsmith and sculptor, Paolo Uccello was in point of fact by no means unique among the Florentine painters of the Quattrocento; and it is easy to understand the strong influence which sculpture under these circumstances came to exercise on painting. When Uccello changed over to painting we do not know, but it was probably by 1425, in which year it is ascertained he went to Venice, where he is next heard of engaged upon various mosaics. By 1436, at any rate, he was back in Florence, and spent there some busy years, until some time in the forties he again went to the north of Italy, this time to Padua. According to Vasari, he accompanied his friend Donatello there; and altogether the continuous stream of Florentine artists to Padua and Venice during the first half of the fifteenth century—Uccello, Donatello, and also, as we shall see, Andrea del Castagno and Fra Filippo Lippi—is a very notable fact, and was to have the most far-reaching consequences for the development of art in those cities, as is shown above all by the work of Andrea Mantegna and the Bellinis. Uccello probably did not stay very long in Padua, and on his return to Florence spent most of the remainder of his life in that city, though for a time between 1465 and 1468 he worked at Urbino. He died at Florence at an advanced age in 1475.

Paolo Uccello's name is indissolubly coupled with the methodical exploration of linear perspective, which, as I have mentioned before, received its first impetus from Filippo Brunellesco. Being of a rather world-shy and eccentric disposition, the study of the new science became a real passion with him; Vasari, who knew his family, tells us in his most entertaining life of Uccello that he would sit up in his study all night working out problems of perspective; and when his wife begged him to stop and go

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

to bed he would only reply, "Oh, what a sweet thing is this perspective." His fondness for "the sweet thing" is indeed abundantly evidenced by his works, and he frequently attacks the most difficult problems of foreshortening. His concern about these matters is undoubtedly apt to be unduly preponderant in his works, and he also often forgets that in representations everything has not been achieved the moment you have succeeded in fixing as it were the geometrical substance of the things depicted. He does not, however, by any means, invariably lose sight of this fact, and then there is always in Uccello's works a good deal besides a mere scientific inquiry into the laws of perspective. He is, indeed, a very real artist, endowed with an exceptionally fine feeling both for rhythmic design and for beauty and harmony of colour, and throughout his art there runs a vein of the most genuine and fascinating Romanticism. He has the true Romanticist's feeling of constantly exploring a strange and wonderful world; indeed, what is his attitude towards perspective if not Romantic? The romance of chivalry and legend is rendered in his art with rare directness and charm; and we also feel that with him there comes to the fore a very remarkable realization of the idea of mood in landscape—the principal piece of evidence to this effect being his wonderful *Hunt in a Wood by Moonlight* in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

Time has unfortunately played great havoc among the paintings by Uccello. Many of them have perished altogether, but luckily there still survives, though partly in terribly injured condition, one of his most important works of fresco decoration. I am alluding to the series of subjects from Genesis in the old cloisters of Santa Maria Novella in Florence (called the *Chiostro verde*, since all the paintings in it are carried out in green monochrome). Some of the frescoes in this series are just productions of the atelier of Uccello; but his own handiwork is doubtless seen in the paintings of the fourth bay which form the subject of an elaborate appreciation by Vasari. The scene in the lunette is the Deluge (Plate 38); on the left the Ark is seen floating on the waves, and on the right it appears once more, with Noah looking out of the window for the dove. In the intervening space Uccello introduces a large number of human figures and animals swimming about in the water or trying to save themselves on rafts; and the artist has here found full scope to indulge in his passion for the most difficult problems of foreshortening, as well as in that other of his in which he took a perfectly childlike delight in the portrayal of all imaginable kind of animals. The influence of Donatello, both in the form and the cast of drapery,



PLATE 37.—FRA ANGELICO: THE CRUCIFIXION. Paris, Louvre.



PLATE 38. — PAOLO UCCELLO: THE DELUGE.
Florence, Chiosstro Verde, Santa Maria Novella. (Photo Alinari).

CONTEMPORARIES OF MASACCIO

is clearly noticeable all through, but very strikingly so in the figure of a man standing on a raft in the foreground to the right. Greatly injured though this fresco is, it is yet well preserved in comparison with the one below, which represents the Sacrifice and Drunkenness of Noah ; we can, however, still make out one of Uccello's most daring feats of foreshortening—the figure of God the Father appearing above the group of worshippers and plunging right down with his head *away* from the spectator and yet facing !¹ As to the date of these two frescoes, it has been thought to be 1447 on the somewhat slender ground that Vasari says that the figure of Ham in the scene of the *Drunkenness of Noah* is a portrait of the painter Dello Delli, who in that year revisited Florence, making a break in his sojourn in Spain.²

Much better preserved (if not ideally so) is the only other extant example of Paolo Uccello's work as a fresco painter (Plate 39) : the equestrian portrait of Sir John Hawkwood, an English soldier of fortune who had been in the service of the Florentine Republic in 1392. After the death of "Giovanni Acuto," as his name was italianized, his figure had first been painted above his tomb in the Florence Duomo by Agnolo Gaddi and Pesello in 1395-96 ; and it was this fresco which Uccello in 1436 was commissioned to repaint in *terra verde*. The first version of his work did not, however, give satisfaction, and he was asked to do it all over again, whereupon the painting was viewed on May 31 of that year and accepted. It has not escaped restoration—it was, for instance, in 1524 repaired by Lorenzo di Credi—and it has now been transferred to canvas ; but we can nevertheless form a fair idea of the artist's intentions. What is aimed at here is the complete illusion of a monument actually carved in stone and placed at the height occupied by the fresco, and the whole is consistently drawn as it would appear when seen from below. But besides this the fresco also shows Uccello's remarkable talent as a designer both in the fine proportions

¹ A reproduction of this figure is included among the illustrations of an article by Signor Eugenio G. Campani in *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. xvii. (July 1910), p. 203 *sqq.*, which gives an interesting account of the restoration of the *Story of Noah* carried out in 1909 by Signor Domenico Fiscali, and also points out that these paintings were executed not in true fresco but in tempera.

² The artistic personality of Dello Delli, long very shadowy, has lately become tangible through the identification of certain works by him in the Cathedral Vieja at Salamanca. These are a fresco of the Last Judgment in the semi-dome of the apse, part of a larger scheme of fresco decoration which the artist was commissioned to execute in 1445, and of which also another fragmentary portion survives ; and furthermore the elaborate polyptych below the *Last Judgment*, containing numerous subjects from the life of Christ and the Virgin. These paintings show Dello to have been a typical exponent of the Late Gothic tendencies in art. Vasari also assigns to him a fresco in the Chiostro Verde (*Isaac giving his Blessing to Esau*), which is now so destroyed that there is little to be gathered as regards its style.

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

of the whole and in the grandeur and simplicity of line in the equestrian group, where every movement is perfectly easy and natural. Indeed it has truly been remarked that this fresco in many ways anticipates that most noble equestrian group of the whole Renaissance, the monument to Gattamelata by Donatello in Padua, which was not set up until 1453.

Coming now to Andrea del Castagno, we find in him an artist who succeeds in expressing, with extraordinary power, conceptions partaking of an unusual amount of rude force and indeed brutality. Judging from such of his paintings as have come down to us, we can well imagine that he must have carried out in a congenial spirit one of the earliest tasks entrusted to him—namely, to depict on the front of the Palazzo del Podestà the gibbeted bodies of a number of Florentine citizens who had rebelled against Cosimo de' Medici in 1434. This fresco, which has long ago perished, earned for the painter the nickname "Andrea degli Impiccati," that is to say, "Andrea of the gibbeted bodies." Andrea del Castagno's style reveals a searching study of anatomical structure, and a successful striving after relief and solidity of modelling; indeed his figures are apt to look not so much as portrayals of human beings with real flesh and blood as of statues cast in bronze; and both in the design of drapery and the rendering of human form an imitation of Donatello's style is very manifest. To the study of perspective he devotes considerable attention, though with nothing of the passionate fervour that characterizes Uccello's attitude in this respect; and the spatial settings which Andrea del Castagno designs for his subjects are generally marked by great effectiveness and convincing power.

The combined life which Vasari devotes to Andrea del Castagno and Domenico Veneziano is one of the most elaborate pieces of fabrication in Messer Giorgio's whole work; for having read his vivid account of the manner in which Andrea del Castagno ambushed and killed Domenico Veneziano, it comes as something of a shock—and relief—to find that in point of fact Domenico Veneziano survived Andrea del Castagno by about four years. This extraordinary story is now proved to spring from a confusion (made already before Vasari's time) with the murder of one Domenico di Matteo by the painter Andrea di Matteo, which did take place in Florence in 1443; and in this connection one wonders whether Vasari's account of Andrea del Castagno's violent temper had any foundation in fact, or whether it is simply deduced from the fierceness of expression in so many of his figures. He was born in 1410, and was thus considerably



PLATE 39. — PAOLO UCCELLO: SIR JOHN HAWKWOOD.
Florence Cathedral. (Photo Alinari).



PLATE 40.—ANDREA DEL CASTAGNO: THE LAST SUPPER. Florence, Sant' Apollonia.

CONTEMPORARIES OF MASACCIO

younger than Paolo Uccello or Masaccio ; the appellation " del Castagno " was derived from his birthplace, a small town in the Mugello valley near Florence. He is first heard of in Florence in 1480, when in a tax return he makes himself out to be extremely poor and ailing ; as to the circumstances of his training we know nothing. One of the Medici, Bernardetto, Constable of Florence, was a landowner in the neighbourhood of Castagno ; and Vasari, in a story which has a certain family resemblance to the anecdote of the youthful Giotto and Cimabue, describes how Andrea's talent was discovered by Bernardetto, who gave him the chance of studying in Florence. After painting the fresco on the front of the Palazzo del Podestà in 1434, Andrea del Castagno vanishes from our ken for several years and does not turn up again until 1442, when, as " Andrea de Florentia," he, together with one Francesco da Faenza, signs the frescoes on the ceiling of the Cappella di San Tarasio in the Church of San Zaccaria in Venice. These frescoes consist mainly of a series of imposing single figures, God the Father and various saints, fully disclosing the characteristic manner of Andrea del Castagno ; nevertheless it is not until very recently that they have been recognized as his work¹—a rediscovery of the greatest importance for our better understanding of the development of Venetian fifteenth-century painting. In 1444 Andrea del Castagno reappears in Florence, where the next year his name is entered upon the roll of the Corporation of Florentine painters ; and in Florence, so far as we know, he spent the remainder of his life, dying in 1457 ; it is possible, however, that he was the painter " Andreino da Firenze," who in 1454 was paid for work done in the Vatican for Pope Nicholas V.

Several of Andrea del Castagno's extant works are not definitely datable, and amongst them the magnificent series of frescoes, painted by him in the former refectory of the monastery of Sant' Apollonia in Florence, now turned into an Andrea del Castagno Museum. These frescoes occupy two tiers on the end wall of the room ; those at the top represent the Crucifixion, between the Resurrection and the Entombment ; they are not so well preserved as the fresco of the Last Supper underneath, which, as one of the most important surviving examples of Andrea del Castagno's art, deserves to be discussed minutely (Plate 40). The traditional scheme of composition for this subject, as displayed in English Mediæval painting most

¹ For reproductions of these frescoes see an article by Signor Giuseppe Fiocco in *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. XL. (January 1922), p. 11 *sqq.* ; and more recently the same writer's volume *L'Arte di Andrea Mantegna* (Bologna, 1927), p. 63 *sqq.*

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

completely in the fine early fourteenth-century wall painting in the Church of Croughton, Northants,¹ provides for the disposition of the apostles on each side of Christ, save for Judas, who is isolated on the near side of the table, St. John being, moreover, shown asleep against the bosom of Christ. It will be seen that Andrea del Castagno has followed the main lines of this arrangement. But no longer, as in the *Last Suppers* of the Trecento, is the stage indicated in a vague and generalized way; it is tangibly conceived as a Roman banqueting hall, gorgeously decorated with variegated marble—indeed, curiously like the settings of the nineteenth-century academicians of the “Last Days of Pompeii” School—and definitely lit by the fall of light through the windows in the right-hand wall. The apostles again, as has been well said, impress one as belonging to a race of savage Titans, rugged and austere—the next-of-kin certainly of Masaccio’s apostles in the *Tribute Money*. Leonardo’s apostles, in his famous composition at Milan, strike us by comparison as almost too much of ordinary mortals, subjected to the whim of their passions; the scene here is undoubtedly less obviously dramatic than with Leonardo, but that is amply made up for by the feeling of stern grandeur and significance which governs the conception. Nor is there really, for all the simplicity of disposition, any primitive monotony of line, so skilful are the subtle variations of pose, and so admirably is the silhouette of the long-drawn-out group interwoven with the architectural setting. Andrea del Castagno’s grasp of form and plastic effectiveness of modelling are also here seen to perfection; and it is curious to note how, in a representation of three-dimensional space which is so exceptionally convincing even on points of considerable difficulty, suddenly the elementary rule, that all horizontals which are at right angles to the picture plane are drawn to the point of sight, should be most flagrantly disregarded in the lines of the friezes on the side walls, which, so far from converging at the point of sight, are actually diverging. One wonders how this came about; in any case too much should not be made of this absurd mistake, seeing that the rule is applied both elsewhere in this composition and in the drawing of the sarcophagus in the fresco of the Condottiere Niccolò da Tolentino (Plate 41), painted in 1456, the year before the master’s death, as a companion piece to the fresco of Sir John Hawkwood by Paolo Uccello, to which reference was made a little while ago. It is a fine piece of design, curiously contrasting through the very turgid quality of line with the

¹ Reproduced in Tancred Borenius and E. W. Tristram, *English Mediæval Painting*, Florence and Paris, 1927, Plate 52.



PLATE 41. — ANDREA DEL CASTAGNO: NICCOLÓ DA TOLENTINO.
Florence Cathedral. (Photo Alinari).

CONTEMPORARIES OF MASACCIO

noble equipoise and restraint of Paolo Uccello's composition. Andrea del Castagno's system of form and modelling made him, of course, peculiarly fitted to undertake works like this, in which painting appears as a substitute for sculpture, and one of the most important of his extant works is also carried out in a similar spirit, though not actually in monochrome. I am alluding to the series of heroes, heroines, and famous authors painted by Andrea del Castagno on the walls of the country house of the Carducci family at Legnaia near Florence (subsequently known as the Villa Pandolfini). They have now in great part been removed to the refectory of Sant' Apollonia, where, transferred to canvas, they are set up on one of the walls, though the arrangement does not exactly follow the original lines. Three heroes, none of them classical, all in fact Florentines—namely, Pippo Spano, Farinata degli Uberti, and Niccolo Acciaiuoli; three heroines—the Cumæan Sibyl, Esther, and Tomyris; and three authors—Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio—are here depicted, at some altitude above the floor, in niches, all at full length except Esther, whose half-length is placed above a door (Plate 42). The niches are surmounted by a frieze, at the top of which is a series of compartments containing figures of *putti* carrying festoons. The drawing of the figures in the niches is accurately calculated so as to suit the altitude occupied by them; and the sculpturesque quality of Andrea del Castagno's design of drapery is marked throughout. Several of these figures are very effective interpretations of character, but none more so than the Pippo Spano (Plate 43). This was a Florentine soldier of fortune who fought successfully in Hungary against the Turks; and Andrea del Castagno has here created an unforgettable type of the braggadocio, as he stands there, striding across nearly the whole width of the niche, and ready for who is next to experience his skill at swordsmanship. The tendency to vehemence and brutality which is always more or less present in Andrea del Castagno is carried to its furthest limits in a fresco discovered but a generation ago in the Church of the Annunziata in Florence, where it had remained hidden for centuries under a canvas of later date, thereby escaping any injuries of restoration. It represents the Trinity being adored by St. Jerome—raving with fanatic ecstasy—and two female saints. The intense passion lying behind these forms of utmost coarseness, combined with Andrea del Castagno's power of simple and monumental silhouetting, produces here an effect of oppressive awfulness akin to that which we experience before the works of the great Spanish realists—a Zurbaran or Goya. In yet another fresco, a *Crucifixion*, formerly in the Church of

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

Santa Maria degli Angeli at Florence, and now placed in the refectory of Sant' Apollonia, we find a similar quality of emotion and power of expressing it. Knowing what we do about Andrea del Castagno's character as an artist, one particularly regrets that among the lost paintings by him should be the fresco of the Scourging of Christ, once in the Chiostro Nuovo of the monastery of Santa Croce in Florence and destroyed in 1693, a work to which Vasari devotes a long passage of enthusiastic appreciation, dwelling eloquently on the way in which it combined effectiveness of realism with fine spiritual quality in the figure of Christ, and also praising the admirable perspective of the elaborate architectural setting.

Until recently, the third of the painters mentioned alongside Paolo Uccello and Andrea del Castagno, Domenico Veneziano, came very near to being a sphinx refusing to yield any of its secrets. And although of late years it has been possible to add in a most welcome fashion to our stock of knowledge concerning him, Domenico Veneziano will, it is to be feared, for ever remain somewhat of a shadowy figure ; for while as we saw there is no foundation for the story that he was murdered by Andrea del Castagno, such is the destruction which has overtaken his works, that he can almost be said to have been blotted out artistically. And this is a great pity ; for even now we can see that Domenico Veneziano is an extremely interesting artist.

As to when he was born we know nothing ; his name indicates that he was a native of Venice, and Vasari even goes so far as to describe at length how he met Antonello da Messina at Venice and learnt from him " the secret of oil painting " ; but here something has gone quite wrong, for—apart from any other considerations—Domenico Veneziano died in Florence years and years before Antonello came to Venice. He is first heard of in 1438, when he was at Perugia and wrote to Piero de' Medici asking him to intercede with his father Cosimo on behalf of Domenico, so that the latter might be commissioned to paint an altar-piece, in which case he " hoped to do marvels." Whether the request was granted we do not know, but Domenico had evidently by that time already been in Florence, since in the letter he shows himself fully *au courant* with the art life of the city—he refers to Fra Filippo Lippi and Fra Angelico as being very busy at the time, the former on an altar-piece for the Church of Santo Spirito at Florence. What he did at Perugia we cannot tell ; Vasari speaks of paintings in a room of the Casa Baglioni which no longer exist ; nor does any trace survive of the paintings which, according to the same writer, he—



PLATE 42.—ANDREA DEL CASTAGNO: DANTE AND PETRARCH. Florence, Sant' Apollonia.



PLATE 43. — ANDREA DEL CASTAGNO: PIPPO SPANO.
Florence, Sant' Apollonia. (Photo Alinari).

CONTEMPORARIES OF MASACCIO

in collaboration with Piero della Francesca—executed in another city in Central Italy, Loreto.

By 1439 Domenico Veneziano was in any case back in Florence, and for the next six years he is recorded as having been at work on a series of frescoes in the choir of Sant' Egidio in the Hospital of Santa Maria Nuova. As his assistants are named Piero della Francesca and, obviously in a very subordinate capacity, the old painter Bicci di Lorenzo; and the records relating to this work are also interesting, inasmuch as they mention quantities of linseed oil supplied to Domenico, and thus bear out Vasari when he speaks of Domenico having used oil in these paintings.¹ Altogether, the choir of Sant' Egidio evidently was a most important focus of Florentine painting about the middle of the fifteenth century; Andrea del Castagno was commissioned to paint frescoes there in 1450, and Alesso Baldovinetti had a share in the decoration of the choir. It is all the more regrettable that not the slightest trace should survive of all this; and it would have been particularly interesting to witness the intertwining of the art of the young Piero della Francesca with that of Domenico Veneziano.² A string of records enables us to follow Domenico's further existence in Florence until 1461, the year of his death. Only one fresco, authenticated as a work by him, is now extant; it was originally placed as a street shrine at the Canto de' Carnesecchi in Florence, and showed the Madonna and Child, with God the Father sending forth the Holy Ghost above, and various figures of saints at the sides. Removed from the original position, the central group eventually passed into the possession of the National Gallery, which also contains the heads of two of the figures of saints; the latter are very remarkable for sensitive drawing and delicate fusion of tone, and much better preserved than the central group, which also, unlike the heads, has been transferred on to canvas. Though but a shadow of its former self it yet retains a fine and simple dignity of effect, and gives us valuable clues as to Domenico Veneziano's style of figure drawing. Mentioned by Vasari among the works of Andrea del Castagno, a fresco of SS. John the Baptist and Francis in the Church of Santa Croce at Florence has probably rightly been assigned by present-day criticism to Domenico Veneziano, and this on account of its affinity of style both to the National Gallery fragments

¹ We may here recall that oil was used in England as a medium for wall paintings in the fifteenth century, as witness the paintings in Eton College chapel.

² The subjects given by Vasari to Domenico Veneziano are the Visit of Joachim to Anne, the Birth of the Virgin, and the Marriage of the Virgin, the latter composition containing many portraits of contemporary Florentines.

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

and to the only other authenticated work by Domenico Veneziano which now exists—the altar-piece formerly in the Church of Santa Lucia de' Magnoli at Florence. The principal panel of this altar-piece, representing the Madonna and Child enthroned with saints, is now in the Uffizi ; as to the predella, one panel, the Martyrdom of St. Lucy, in the Berlin Museum, was identified some time ago, and then quite recently all the others, scattered all over the world, were identified in rapid succession ; amongst them are two pictures which by an almost miraculous stroke of good fortune became the property of the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge through the bequest of a Cambridge man who had been a collector in a small way. Being narrative compositions, the predella panels increase our knowledge of Domenico Veneziano's artistic personality in the most valuable fashion, the exquisite *Annunciation* at Cambridge in particular helping us to gain some idea as to what the frescoes of the life of the Virgin in Santa Maria Nuova must have looked like. Finally, thanks to the brilliant identification on the part of an Italian critic, Signor Roberto Longhi, yet another work has recently been added to the list of surviving works by Domenico Veneziano—a circular picture of the Adoration of the Magi which, exhibiting as it does the strong influence of Pisanello (to whom indeed at one time it was attributed), contains the only indications so far available of an artistic association between Domenico Veneziano and the North of Italy. It will be seen thus that we are not entirely without knowledge about Domenico Veneziano, and that recent years have added materially to that knowledge ; but how one wishes it were possible for us to know much more !¹

To the same generation of artists as Andrea del Castagno and Domenico Veneziano belongs a great Florentine painter of very different tendencies, namely, Fra Filippo Lippi. Of Fra Filippo Lippi as a man we know a good deal, and it is a most picturesque and delightful character which the story of his life reveals to us. Like Masaccio—only much more so—Fra Filippo Lippi is very definitely a Bohemian artist ; indeed, one may say that he is the first great Bohemian known to the history of art—wayward and irresponsible, never in time with his work, always in love, always hard up, and withal evidently a person of the most irresistible charm. The culminating point in his escapades was reached when as a man of about fifty, and a

¹ In the Chioostro degli Aranci in the Badia at Florence there is a series of thirteen frescoes from the life of St. Benedict by an artist influenced to some extent by Domenico Veneziano. Though artistically not in the first rank, these frescoes are nevertheless of considerable interest, as has been rightly pointed out by Dr. Alfred Neumayer in the Berlin *Jahrbuch*, Vol. XLVIII. (1927), pp. 25-42, in view of the almost complete disappearance of Domenico Veneziano's work as a fresco painter.

CONTEMPORARIES OF MASACCIO

friar though he was, he eloped with a beautiful nun, Lucrezia Buti. With the Medici family he was in very close relations, and they evidently liked him greatly ; time after time he was helped by them out of various scrapes, and they put up most patiently with his endless delays and irregularities, acting on the maxim once expressed by Cosimo de' Medici that " the excellences of rare genius are as forms of light and not beasts of burden." ¹ The character of the man is not belied in his works, which bear witness to no profound and soul-stirring imagination or serious and scholarly tackling of the problems of representation such as characterizes the other early Florentine Quattrocentists we have just been considering. The whole idea of perspective and spatial construction clearly meant very little to him ; and the construction of his figures is also frequently open to criticism on the score of accuracy of representation. In many ways, and especially in his earlier works, Fra Filippo appears indeed as the heir of the tradition of that school of Late Gothic painters of which Lorenzo Monaco is the chief representative in Florence, and which, disregarding the scientific problems of representation, concentrated on the conveying of poetical moods by means of a language of art which included wilful distortions and inexactitudes of statement, but was always governed by the idea of rhythmic quality of line and harmony of colour. Fra Filippo's temperament as an artist is essentially lyrical, with a strain of delightful roguishness, carrying us away by the spontaneity and intensity of his feeling and impressing its charm upon everything he represents. Yet he stands with both his feet on earth, and the feelings which he expresses are those of joy in life as he saw it around himself in the streets of Florence, in the cool and shady interiors of the palaces, in the gardens and the woodland solitudes ; there is nothing visionary or sublime about his art, but an irresistible sensuous gracefulness and charm. As a colourist he is perhaps the most genuine and fascinating that Florence ever produced ; and technically, his connection with the Trecento is again noticeable, for he makes no experiments with new mediums, but merely develops, to exquisite perfection, the tempera technique he had inherited from the preceding generation.

Fra Filippo was born, perhaps, in 1406, the son of a Florentine butcher ; in 1421 he entered the monastery of the Carmine at Florence. Who his master was has never been ascertained ; Vasari limits himself to saying that Fra Filippo studied in the Brancacci chapel. The traditionalist char-

¹ " L'eccellenze degli ingegni rari sono forze celesti e non asini veturini."

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

acter of his art makes it likely that his master was one of the Late Gothic painters of Florence ; but there is no warrant for saying, as is sometimes done, that he was actually a pupil of Lorenzo Monaco. Almost no sooner has he been described in the monastery roll, in 1430, as a painter, than he ceases to figure on that roll at all ; and after 1431 we must conclude that he led an extra-conventual existence, which, from what we know about his temperament, must have presented far greater attractions to Fra Filippo. In 1434 he paid that visit to the North of Italy—Padua in his case—which one has the feeling almost was *de rigueur* for a Florentine painter of this period ; of what he did there, unfortunately, nothing remains. We find him back in Florence in 1437, and from now onwards there is such an abundance of documentary references to Fra Filippo that it would take us too far even to try to summarize them ; it must be enough to indicate, as we have done, the general trend of his life, and to single out the salient dates of his career as a fresco painter. By May 1452 he had begun work on the series of frescoes in the choir of the Cathedral of Prato, a task which earlier in the year had been offered to Fra Angelico, though he declined it. Endless delays occurred over this work—the escapade with Lucrezia Buti, not to mention other complications in his life, occurred in the meantime—and it was only in 1464, after the intervention of Carlo de' Medici, that the series was brought to a conclusion. A few years later, in 1468, he undertook his second great work as a fresco painter, the decoration of the apse of Spoleto Cathedral ; and it was whilst he was engaged on it that death overtook him on October 6, 1469. These, then, are the two places in which Fra Filippo can now be studied as a fresco painter—Prato and Spoleto ; in Florence itself no work by him in that capacity survives.

The frescoes at Prato illustrate a series of events from the lives of two saints—John the Baptist and Stephen. Some of them admirably illustrate Fra Filippo's gift of entertaining and graceful narrative ; and none of them better than the fresco of the Feast of Herod (Plate 44). The way in which Fra Filippo here has brought before our eyes the interior of a Renaissance hall, in which a repast is laid, with mischievous children sporting about where they have no business to be ; the skittish dance of Salome, in her diaphanous, gaily fluttering skirt ; the consternation of the pages as Salome kneels before Herodias, offering her the head of the Baptist on a charger, and in particular the fright of the two girls embracing, not forgetting to look their best meanwhile—all this is Fra Filippo in his most characteristic and charming vein. As a gay *genre* picture transferred to the cathedral

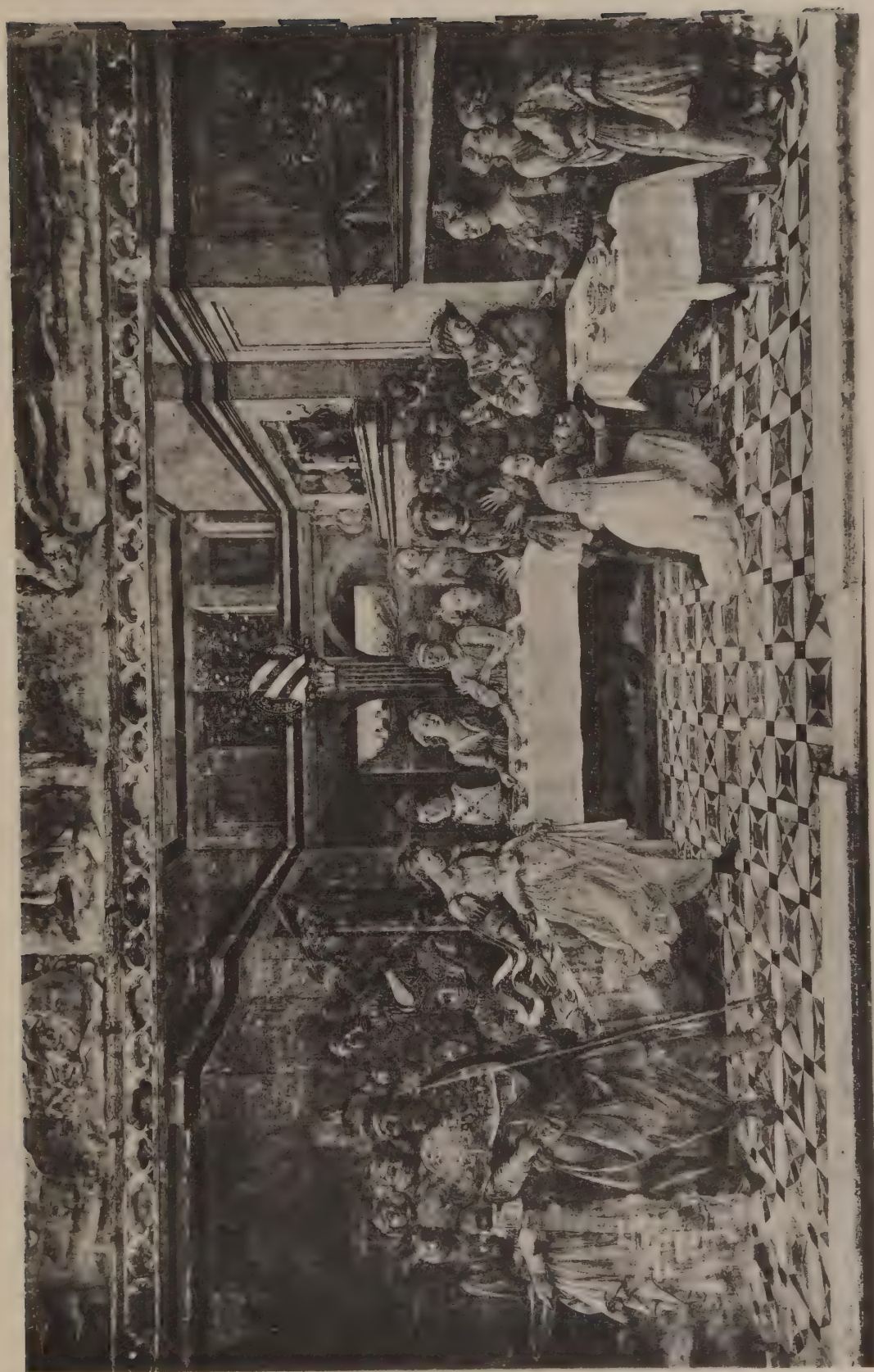


PLATE 44. — FRA FILIPPO LIPPI: THE BANQUET OF HEROD.
Prato Cathedral. Photo Alinari).

CONTEMPORARIES OF MASACCIO

wall it has, of course, little or nothing in common with the idea of monumental and dramatic design, as evolved by a Masaccio ; but in the house of art there are many mansions, and Fra Filippo has here written a page of Renaissance art which one would decidedly be sorry to be without.

The scene of the Funeral of St. Stephen is laid in the nave of a Renaissance church, the perspective of which is not, perhaps, what it would have been in the hands of a Masaccio or Andrea del Castagno ; and as a composition it is very simple, with numerous full-length portrait figures arrayed in serried ranks on each side of the bier, round which some more emotional mourners have also gathered—preponderantly children. Apart from the power of characterization displayed by Fra Filippo in these portraits, this composition is also historically of interest, as a prelude to a method of composition which, as we shall see, was to be a favourite one with the most popular Florentine fresco painter of the close of the Quattrocento, Domenico Ghirlandaio.

At Spoleto the only fresco carried out more or less entirely by Fra Filippo is the large one in the semi-dome, representing the Coronation of the Virgin ; the remaining three frescoes, of various scenes from the life of the Virgin, on the wall of the apse, being largely by Fra Filippo's assistant Fra Diamante, whom he had also employed at Prato. The Coronation of the Virgin is a composition of astounding richness and gorgeousness of colour, with myriads of angels and saints crowding among clouds round the central incident, while right at the bottom a frieze of distant dark hills are outlined against the dawn—again in effect as far removed as possible from what Masaccio was aiming at ; but undoubtedly having a *raison d'être* of its own.

Chapter III

FLORENTINE PAINTERS OF THE MIDDLE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Piero della Francesca—Alesso Baldovinetti—Antonio del Pollaiuolo—Benozzo Gozzoli.

THE careers of all the artists we have lately been considering have taken us beyond the middle of the century ; but every one of them had achieved distinction long before 1400. We may now turn to a consideration of some of the principal Florentine painters of the next generation—the masters, that is, who, having been born about 1420 or shortly after, were in the full maturity of their powers about the middle of the century.

I used the expression “ Florentine painters ” ; and here the question presents itself : Can we range under that heading one of the greatest masters of Italian painting who belongs to the generation now to be discussed—namely, Piero della Francesca ? In a sense, yes ; for when the latter is first heard of it is in the capacity of assistant to Domenico Veneziano whilst the latter was engaged upon the frescoes of the chapel of Sant’ Egidio in Santa Maria Nuova between 1439 and 1445 ; and the traces of Piero della Francesca’s Florentine training were certainly never wholly to vanish from his art. And yet one hesitates to place that, or indeed any other label, on Piero della Francesca ; for all he has learnt from others, he is so utterly and profoundly himself—truly the “ Monarch of painting of his day,” as a contemporary calls him, his career taking him in a triumphant progress almost through the whole of the peninsula—certainly to Rome, Urbino, Rimini, Ferrara, and, nearer his Umbrian home in Borgo San Sepolcro, to Arezzo : but never again, so far as we know, after those early days in Santa Maria Nuova, to Florence. And how peculiarly difficult it is to capture in words even something of the character of Piero della Francesca’s art. One may talk of a series of calm and grave beauty akin to that of Greek archaic art ; of an unfailing sense of what makes the rhythmic beauty of

PAINTERS OF THE MIDDLE XVTH CENTURY

design ; of a sensitiveness of the values of line and colour which puts every impressionist of modern times to shame—and yet all these phrases are but poor and partial shots at the truth. Piero della Francesca remains one of the most unanalysable of artists ; and yet of one thing there can be no doubt—of the absolutely gripping power of his art.

Though much of what he did has been destroyed, we yet possess fairly adequate means of judging of Piero della Francesca as a fresco painter. At his native Borgo San Sepolcro there is that overwhelming *Resurrection* in the Palazzo Comunale, where an ancient traditional motive has been given a new and unheard-of expressive power under Piero della Francesca's hands. At Borgo San Sepolcro, too, there used to be on the wall of a private house that extraordinarily moving interpretation of Greek myth, the nude young Hercules with his club, which has since migrated across the seas to the Gardner Collection at Boston ; while, in the neighbourhood of Borgo San Sepolcro, the chapel of the village cemetery of Monterchio contains to this day the weird but wonderful *Madonna del Parto*. Then there is at Rimini, in the temple raised by Sigismondo Malatesta, the weird bas-relief-like composition in which the princely founder and his greyhound are depicted in equally strict profile, before the seated figure of St. Sigismund of Burgundy. Yet all these are but single compositions ; and it is to Arezzo you have to go in order to find—in the choir of the Church of San Francesco—the one surviving complete cycle of frescoes by Piero della Francesca.

Dating probably in the main from the latter part of the 'fifties, these frescoes illustrate the legend of the True Cross—the same legend, then, as had supplied the subject for Agnolo Gaddi's series of frescoes in the choir of Santa Croce in Florence. It is hard to realize that only about seventy or eighty years lie between these two works ; so absolutely different are they in every respect. It is difficult to know which of the Arezzo frescoes to single out for special mention, when space forbids discussion of them all ; but we may dwell for a moment on the fresco of the Victory of Constantine over Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge (Plate 45). Piero della Francesca has developed the subject in a frieze-like, populous composition, with one mounted army pursuing the other. The fresco is now unfortunately much obliterated in the right-hand portion, where the troops of Maxentius were represented hastily retreating, with banners waving in wild confusion, before the slow but irresistible advance of Constantine's army. At the head of it is the Emperor, looking fixedly in front of himself, as if hypnotized

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

by the gold cross which he holds in his outstretched right hand, and which one has the feeling draws the whole of his army onward. Dramatically it is most effective to have the head of Constantine and his hand with the cross, the focus of interest in the scene, immediately singled out for notice by the way in which they are framed in by the lance, and the head of the horse, of the knight in front. As an interpretation of the scene, nothing could be more compellingly impressive ; but entirely apart from that, the eye, taking in the relations of all these forms to one another, as well as the harmonies of the scheme of colour, discovers sources of ever fresh delight.

Mention has already been made of yet another painter who worked in the chapel of Sant' Egidio—namely, Alesso Baldovinetti ; and in him we have a Florentine bred and born, belonging to an ancient patrician family, who spent practically the whole of his life in Florence, and whose influence on the Florentine school of painting was a considerable one. Born in 1425, he was entered on the roll of the Guild of Painters in Florence in 1448. Later in life he took to the laudable habit of keeping a book of records, which, fortunately, has been preserved, and gives us extremely valuable information concerning his life and work. He lived on almost until the end of the century, not dying until 1499. The interest in different kinds of technique was a very strong one with Baldovinetti ; he is the first painter of any consequence again to take up work in mosaic seriously, and even wrote a treatise on the subject : he produced a considerable amount of stained glass, and designs for inlaid woodwork (*intarsia*), and so forth. Quite early in his career, about 1448, we find him collaborating with Fra Angelico, for whose series of small pictures for the doors of the presses containing relics in the Church of the Annunziata he painted three subjects, now like the pictures by Fra Angelico in the Museum of San Marco. Naturally these are not without traces of Fra Angelico's influence ; but the young master, then only about twenty-three, does not by any means suffer his artistic personality to be blotted out by that of the old and famous one : one feels at once that here is a different hand at work, and although there are many features already here which point to the pupil of Domenico Veneziano, there is no question of slavish dependence in that direction either. As an artist he is remarkable for the keenness of his exploration of the facts of the visible world. Vasari emphasizes the interest he took in landscape painting, and dwells in amusing amazement on the way in which he reproduced from nature " rivers, bridges, stones, herbs, fruit, woods, fields, towns, castles, squares, and other similar things," as he says somewhat



PLATE 45.—PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA: THE VICTORY OF CONSTANTINE OVER
MAXENTIUS (Detail). Arezzo, San Francesco.

PAINTERS OF THE MIDDLE XVTH CENTURY

vaguely, though the meaning is doubtless clear. This tendency towards an open-eyed naturalism was, however, always controlled by Baldovinetti's genuine feeling for imposing monumental designs; and in his Madonna pictures he expresses the most exquisite tenderness and subtlety of feeling in forms of the most delicate flower-like beauty. Of his frescoes, one of the most notable is the one of the Nativity of Christ (Plate 46), in the entrance court of the Church of the Annunziata at Florence, dating from 1460 or 1462, which for one thing affords an object lesson of Baldovinetti's interest in technical experiments and the disastrous results which occasionally attended them, for owing to the new technique adopted by him the pigments have scaled most extraordinarily.¹ The grandeur and spaciousness of the design can, however, be fully appreciated even now, and the landscape is most delightful with its wide vista of the green plain of the Arno bordered by ranges of hills—a motive to which Baldovinetti returned over and over again in his pictures. Even more complete is the destruction which for the same reasons has overtaken the frescoes which Baldovinetti in 1471 began painting in the choir of the Church of SS. Trinita in Florence; on the ceiling the figures of four characters from the Old Testament can still be made out, and some fragments are also vaguely visible in the lunettes, but nothing remains of the frescoes on the walls, on which Vasari dwells at some length, enumerating a number of portraits which they contained.² And more or less the same sorry tale has to be told about the paintings which Baldovinetti in 1466 commenced in the chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal in the Church of San Miniato outside Florence, and where mere vestiges remain of the figures of prophets, evangelists, and fathers of the Church painted in the cupola; while the noble *Annunciation*, painted on panel above the altar, fortunately is by comparison in excellent state. Finally, there is by him, comparatively speaking tolerably well preserved, a fresco of the Resurrection painted within a monument, bearing the date 1467, in the Ruccellai chapel which used to belong to the now secularized Church of San Pancrazio.

A little younger than Baldovinetti, and in some ways influenced by him as also by Andrea del Castagno, was Antonio del Pollaiuolo—an artist greatly and justly admired by his contemporaries; indeed, in a letter

¹ The technique in question consisted, according to Vasari, in the sketching in *al fresco* over the wet plaster ground, and the retouching *a secco*, the colour being tempered with yolk of egg and heated varnish.

² Part of one of these figures, said to be a self portrait, has been saved, and is now in the Morelli Collection at Bergamo.

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

written in 1489, Lorenzo de' Medici goes to the length of calling him the greatest of all the artists of Florence, perhaps the greatest who ever lived—and he adds, "This is the opinion of all the connoisseurs." Born in Florence probably in 1433, he was first trained under a goldsmith, and all through his life probably looked upon himself in the first instance as a metal-worker and a sculptor in bronze; but he nevertheless found time to paint a great deal, and also ranks as one of the foremost of Italy's early engravers—though on the strength of one print only, the *Battle of Nude Men*. The earlier part of his career was spent in Florence; but from about 1484 until his death in 1498 he was settled in Rome, where he did among other things the bronze tombs of the Popes Sixtus IV. and Innocent VIII. in the Church of St. Peter's. Much of Antonio del Pollaiuolo's work as a painter was carried on in conjunction with his younger and less gifted brother, Piero (1443-96), Antonio supplying the design and Piero taking charge of the actual execution.

In his art generally, Antonio del Pollaiuolo may be said to continue those tendencies of scholarly realism which we have found prevalent among so important a group of Florentine painters of the first half of the century. According to Vasari, Antonio del Pollaiuolo acquired his knowledge of anatomy by practising dissection of human bodies; and the vivid realization of intense muscular tension is undoubtedly a central feature of his art. His example in that respect meant much to later artists—as witness Botticelli, and later on Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo; and a significant proof of his far-reaching influence as an interpreter of the nude is afforded by the fact that at least one cartoon by Pollaiuolo, representing naked figures, belonged to Francesco Squarcione, head of the great fifteenth-century art school in Padua, and teacher of Andrea Mantegna, and doubtless was one of the drawings he used to give to his pupils to copy.

As a fresco painter, Antonio del Pollaiuolo probably never did very much, and very little of his work in that capacity survives. At San Miniato al Monte, in that same chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal decorated by Alesso Baldovinetti, two angels pushing aside a drapery above the altar are by him—strangely fascinating young creatures, with their elusive wistfulness of expression and odd gracefulness of movement (Plate 47). Then in a country house near Florence, the Villa della Gallina at Torre del Gallo, there came to light in 1897 a most extraordinarily interesting piece of fresco decoration, entirely unrecorded, but on the evidence of style assignable to Antonio del Pollaiuolo without the slightest doubt. The villa belonged to the Lan-



PLATE 46. — ALESSO BALDOVINETTI: THE NATIVITY.
Florence, SS. Annunziata. (Photo Anderson).

PAINTERS OF THE MIDDLE XVTH CENTURY

fredini family until 1464, when it was bought by Jacopo and Giovanni Lanfredini—the latter, as a matter of fact, the person to whom Lorenzo de' Medici wrote the letter about Antonio del Pollaiuolo mentioned above ; and we may presume that the fresco decoration was taken in hand not very long after the villa thus changed owners. What is now seen at the Villa della Gallina—only part of a larger scheme—is a dance of five nude figures, and most unfortunately these have been drastically repainted since their rediscovery ; but even now one gets the impression of the intense vitality running through the supple limbs of these youthful bodies, whose wild gambols create for one the sense of a Quattrocento Venusberg. Beyond these two examples, no extant frescoes can be assigned to Antonio del Pollaiuolo. Vasari gives him a large figure of St. Christopher, which used to be on the façade of the Church of San Miniato fra le Torri, and now has migrated to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York ; but at any rate the handiwork of this fresco must be Piero's.

While Alesso Baldovinetti and Antonio del Pollaiuolo reflect the tendencies which earlier in the century had found expression in the work of Andrea del Castagno and Domenico Veneziano, an older contemporary of theirs may be looked upon to some extent as the heir of the tradition of Fra Angelico. This was the painter Benozzo Gozzoli, to whom I have already had occasion to refer to briefly as one of the assistants of Fra Angelico ; and of what he learnt under the latter master, the work of Benozzo Gozzoli all through his career certainly contains reminiscences. But Benozzo Gozzoli is neither a very scholarly artist, nor has he a very lofty inspiration : he is just one of the most charming decorators and story-tellers that Florence ever produced ; and, a prolific and evidently effortless worker, he has scattered from his horn of plenty on the walls of churches and chapels all over Tuscany and Umbria, where, seen in their natural settings, his cycles of frescoes provide most delightful incidents in the pageant of art there continually unrolled before our eyes.

Benozzo Gozzoli was born at Florence in 1420 ; and probably like Antonio del Pollaiuolo he served his first apprenticeship as a goldsmith, for when he is first heard of in 1444 he is taken on for three years by Lorenzo and Vittorio Ghiberti to work on the first pair of doors for Florence Baptistery. By 1447 he had, however, turned his back on metal-work, as in that year we find him among the assistants of Fra Angelico at Rome ; he was, too, one of the young painters who accompanied the master in the summer of the same year to Orvieto for that work of fresco decoration which was meant

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

to fill the next few summers of Fra Angelico's life, but of which so little came. Having acted in a subordinate capacity under Fra Angelico, Benozzo now thought he saw a chance of becoming the head of the undertaking himself: so in July 1449 he offered to the authorities of the Duomo at Orvieto to carry out and finish the decoration of the chapel of the Virgin begun by Fra Angelico, but received the discouraging reply that he was first to give proofs of his ability; and whatever action Benozzo Gozzoli may have taken on that suggestion, it did not lead to his employment in the desired capacity. After this rebuff, he turned to less exacting quarters, though he did not go very far afield; for during the next few years we find Benozzo Gozzoli busily at work at Montefalco, one of the most delightful of the small Umbrian hill cities. Of the frescoes which he painted in Montefalco, the most important are those which adorn the choir of the Church of San Francesco; on the strength of an inscription they may be dated 1452. In twelve scenes the life of St. Francis of Assisi is here illustrated—the same subject thus as had inspired the young Giotto in his frescoes at Assisi; and though the selection of incidents is not identical in both series, many that we know so well recur here: St. Francis renouncing the world in the public square of Assisi; the Miracle during the celebration of Christmas at Greccio—the ox and the ass being no longer the size of toy animals (Plate 48); the death of the Knight of Celano, and so forth. With Assisi beckoning across from the other side of the valley, it is not surprising that the memory of Giotto should everywhere be present here—indeed, Giotto is present in more ways than one, for a profile of the great Florentine “*PICTORVM EXIMIVS IOCTVS FVNDAMENTVM ET LVX*” has been painted by Benozzo in a medallion on the base of the choir window alongside portraits of Dante and Petrarch. Nothing can at the same time serve better than these frescoes to bring out the high imaginative standard of those at Assisi; for in comparing the two series one feels it most definitely how Benozzo reduces the story of St. Francis to the level of a children's picture book—extraordinarily charming though his compositions are with their flow of gentle, graceful narrative. A star of minor magnitude undoubtedly in his native surroundings, Benozzo Gozzoli yet in the provincial seclusion of Umbria had an important function to fulfil as an apostle of Florentine art; and wherever one goes in Umbria the influence of Benozzo on the artists of that region about the middle of the century is plain to see. Piero Antonio Mezzastri of Foligno, Giovanni Boccati of Camerino, and many another charming artist all to some extent derive from him.

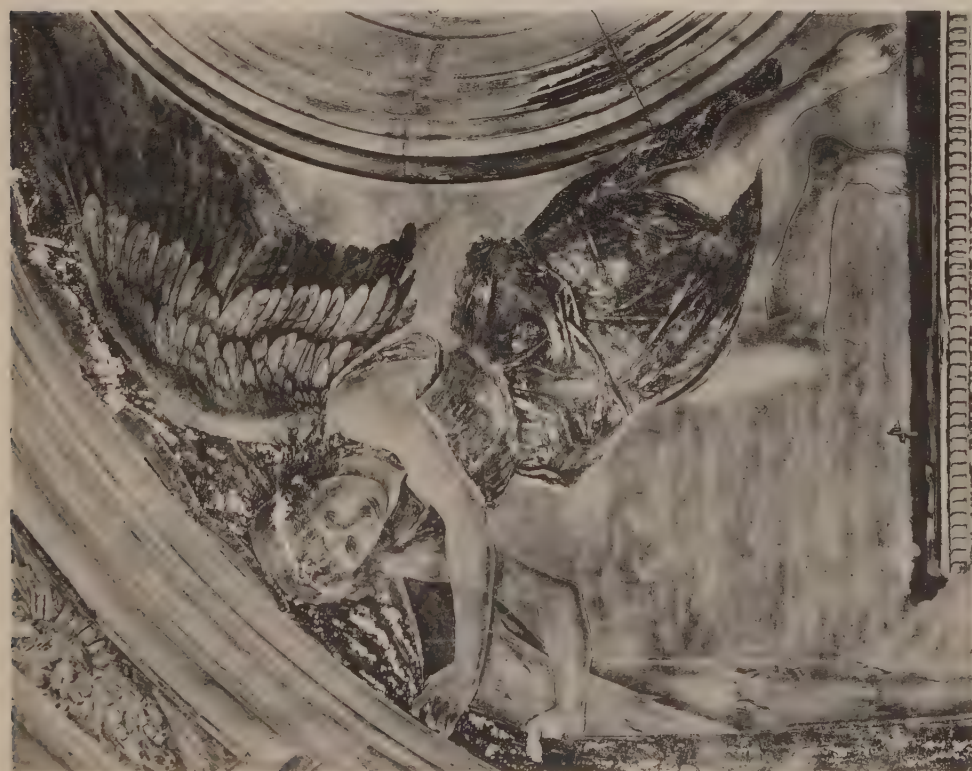


PLATE 47. — ANTONIO DEL POLLAIUOLO: TWO ANGELS.
Florence, San Miniato al Monte. (Photo Alinari).

PAINTERS OF THE MIDDLE XVTH CENTURY

From Montefalco, Benozzo proceeded to Viterbo, where in 1453 he painted a series of frescoes of the life of St. Rosa which has perished ; and gradually he succeeded in creating for himself a position of greater consequence, which is evident from the fact that in 1458 he was employed at the Vatican. Then he returned for a while from his wanderings to Florence, and there we soon afterwards find him at work on a cycle of frescoes in the private chapel of the Palace of the Medici, designed by Michelozzo, and built some twenty years earlier. The delightful frescoes by Benozzo in the chapel of this palace—now generally called, from its subsequent owners, the Palazzo Riccardi—are his best-known works, and indeed among the most popular productions of Italian Quattrocento painting. The conditions under which the artist was working are illustrated in a welcome fashion by three letters, written by him in 1459 to Piero de' Medici, the eldest son of Cosimo, the ruler of Florence ; questions concerning the gold and azure to be employed are gone into, and in addition details of the composition are discussed. Piero de' Medici had criticized Benozzo's treatment of the angels in the sky, and Benozzo is at pains to explain the way in which, by placing clouds in front of them, the details which had been taken exception to could be concealed from view. " I have painted one in a corner among some clouds so that only the points of the wings are visible ; it is so much hidden and so well covered by the clouds that it is not inharmonious, but, on the contrary, adds beauty. This one is near the column. I have painted another on the side of the altar, hidden in the same fashion. Roberto Martelli has seen them, and says they are matters of no moment. In any case, I shall do as you tell me ; two clouds would be sufficient to efface them."

As regards its invention, the whole scheme of fresco decoration converges as it were on the picture originally placed above the altar, which has been identified with the Virgin kneeling in adoration before the Infant Christ, by Fra Filippo Lippi, now in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin (Plate 49). From every side a current of adoration approaches this centre : on the walls of the choir we have on each side groups of angels worshipping ; on the narrow strips of wall above the doors are the shepherds with their flocks ; and on the three main walls, the long cavalcade of the Magi is winding through a rich and diversified landscape. The effect of the whole of this scene of multifarious pageantry is extraordinarily festive and exhilarating ; and fortunately the condition of these frescoes is for the most part excellent so far as the actual surface is concerned ; though one has

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

to regret that on one of the walls of the cavalcade the opening of a door in the seventeenth century resulted in the cutting through of the wall in question along its entire height, the fore part of the mule mounted by the figure known as the Patriarch of Constantinople thus being separated from the hind part.

The chorus of angels in adoration has been placed by the artist in the setting of an earthly paradise as conceived by a fifteenth-century Tuscan—a rich garden scenery with rose hedges in full blossom, dotted all over with trees of the most varied kind, from the native cypress to the exotic palm tree, and enlivened with crowds of peacocks and every other variety of bird. In the lovely groups of angels kneeling in adoration in the extreme foreground, or standing a little farther back singing, on the one hand the artistic descent of Benozzo from Fra Angelico, and on the other hand his different emotional pitch, are very clearly seen. Among the angels flying about in the sky one notices some use made of the ingenious device, mentioned in Benozzo's letter to Piero de' Medici, of partly hiding them behind clouds; but we cannot trace the angel, the points of whose wings only are seen—so evidently some changes were effected in these frescoes after that letter was written.

The romantic cavalcade of the Magi (Plate 50) clearly contains a number of portraits of the artist's contemporaries, though in most cases we are left without any clue to the identity of the persons represented. One person only is named in these frescoes—the artist himself, who, shown as riding in the crowd behind the second of the Magi, bears written across his cap the words “OPVS BENOTII”—an eager and clean-shaven face with pouting lips and keen, wistful eyes. It is likely, of course, that various members of the Medici family are depicted in the procession, and one naturally would look for a portrait of the head of the house, Cosimo, among the three Magi; but opinion has varied as to whether he is to be recognized in the man with a large dark cap, mounted on a white horse, or the older man behind him, on a mule, on the left-hand portion of the fresco, which occupied the wall on the right as you face the altar. Similarly the young king on the white horse, preceding the two figures just mentioned, has been interpreted variously as Lorenzo de' Medici—with little justification, however—or, rather more plausibly, as Galeazzo Maria Sforza of Milan, who in 1459, the very year when we know Benozzo Gozzoli was busy with these frescoes, paid a visit to Florence together with Pope Pius II., great festivities being arranged in their honour by Lorenzo's father, Piero de'



PLATE 48.—BENOZZO GOZZOLI: THE CELEBRATION OF CHRISTMAS AT GRECCIO.
Montefalco, San Francesco. (Photo Alinari).



PLATE 49. — BENOZZO GOZZOLI: ANGELS IN ADORATION.
 Florence, Palazzo Riccardi. (Photo Anderson).

PAINTERS OF THE MIDDLE XVTH CENTURY

Medici. Again, the king in a somewhat Oriental attire, on the wall facing the windows, has been thought to be John VII., Palæologus, Emperor of Constantinople. The memory of this sovereign was doubtless still vivid in Florence, which he had visited twenty years before, in 1439, when the Pope, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and the Byzantine Emperor met for the purpose of discussing the means of stemming the tide of Turkish conquest, the echo of this visit being for some time traceable, for instance, in certain Eastern costumes occurring in paintings by Fra Angelico. On the other hand, the resemblance of that figure in Benozzo's fresco to the authentic portrait of John Palæologus which we possess in Pisanello's medal of him can scarcely be said to be very close ; moreover, John had been dead for many years, and indeed Constantinople lost to the Turks for six years by the time these frescoes were painted, so there is no great compelling force in this identification. Finally, the old man with a peaked head-dress on the mule now so drastically mutilated in the last fresco has been thought to be the Patriarch of Constantinople—this being, however, a mere assumption impossible to verify. Such is the anecdotic vein of Benozzo's art that it stimulates inquiry on points such as these, which are, of course, entirely irrelevant to the artistic quality of his work. Taken all in all, it must undoubtedly be regarded as one of the most pleasing schemes of mural decoration carried out in fifteenth-century Italy.

After this triumph in Florence, in the very heart, we must remember, of the world of the Medici Court, Benozzo before very long resumed his activities in the provinces. In 1463 we find him at work in that most enchanting of Tuscan mediæval settings, San Gimignano, where he was decorating the choir of the Church of Sant' Agostino with a series of frescoes, which took him two years to finish. Again Benozzo here produces himself in his most charming vein as a teller of children's stories, there being, however, this time no Giottesque tradition to fall back upon as at Montefalco. The life of St. Augustine is set forth in no fewer than seventeen frescoes. When the story begins, we see the future Father of the Church being brought by both his parents for the first time to his school, and Benozzo has here drawn a delightful picture of everyday life round him. The scene is set in the streets of an Italian city among Renaissance and Gothic buildings. The schoolmaster, old and bearded, steps forward to welcome the new *alumnus*, who looks up to him with the most perfect self-possession. On the right the daily life of the school is then depicted : through arcaded windows, we look into the hall of the school where the

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

boys are attending—more or less—to their tasks. Some of the seniors are walking away ; but upon one of them devolves the duty of presenting one of the juniors to the painful punishment which the master is in the act of administering to him ; St. Augustine stands close by, looking very much indeed the good boy. And in this spirit it goes on, incident after incident, the artist dwelling with evident relish upon the more mundane aspects of certain episodes of St. Augustine's early life, as when he, a smartly attired young man, rides out of Rome into the verdant Campagna on his way to Milan ; and he has also given a most attractive rendering of the scene in which St. Augustine, as a youthful professor in Rome, teaches philosophy to a class consisting of people very much older than him—a dog placed right in the foreground, equally attentive, providing the typically Benozzian lighter touch (Plate 51). Several of the heads in this fresco are remarkable for their vigour of drawing and effectiveness of characterization ; and altogether these frescoes of the life of St. Augustine may be said to mark a particularly sympathetic phase of the full maturity of Benozzo Gozzoli's development as an artist.

At San Gimignano he did a good deal of other work besides ; and then, in 1467, he at Pisa began the series of large frescoes in the Campo Santo, which were to keep him busy for about seventeen years, until 1484 ; and after their completion he lived on for over a decade, until 1497, ceaselessly working in different places, but with a marked falling off in the artistic quality of his production. Indeed the decadence sets in already in the series of frescoes in the Campo Santo, which depict a multitude of incidents from the Old Testament, together with one isolated scene from the New Testament (the Adoration of the Magi). With a garrulousness which is quite out of keeping with the colossal size of these frescoes, Benozzo here retails the stories of the patriarchs, of Moses and Aaron, of David and Solomon. In the earlier frescoes the standard is higher, and a composition such as the story of Noah is not without its attractiveness even if one cannot help noticing the absence of feeling for monumental design ; but later a slovenliness, both in invention and execution, becomes very noticeable. And yet these frescoes have played a not unimportant part in helping on that movement which began to gather force towards the end of the eighteenth century, and led to the better realization of the qualities of the art of the Italian "Primitives." One of the exponents of this movement at the beginning of the nineteenth century was the Frenchman, A. L. Castellan ; and it is curious to find that this writer, in giving his impressions of the



PLATE 50. — BENOZZO GOZZOLI: THE CAVALCADE OF THE MAGI.
Florence, Palazzo Riccardi. (Photo Anderson).



PLATE 51.—BENOZZO GOZZOLI: ST. AUGUSTINE TEACHING PHILOSOPHY IN ROME.
 San Gimignano, Sant' Agostino.

PAINTERS OF THE MIDDLE XVTH CENTURY

frescoes in the Campo Santo at Pisa, reserves the full measure of his praise for Benozzo Gozzoli, whom he finds insufficiently appreciated, though he was the forerunner of Raphael, who indeed without him could hardly have reached perfection. "So it is to Gozzoli," says Castellan, rising on the wave of his enthusiasm, "to this man, so surprising a product of his century, that one must attach the Renaissance of art." Engravings of these frescoes were issued by Carlo Lasinio in 1810; they are of much help nowadays in making us realize certain passages in the frescoes, some of which have perished greatly. Lasinio's publication also acquired some importance for the history of English art, since it was when poring over these engravings of early Italian paintings at John Millais' rooms on a day in 1848 that he and his young friends Dante Gabriel Rossetti and William Holman Hunt, fired with enthusiasm by what they saw, decided upon the name of the "Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood" for that association of artists which was to cause so much stir in the English art world during the next few years.

Chapter IV

FLORENTINE PAINTERS OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Cosimo Rosselli—A contemporary view of Florentine painting—Sandro Botticelli—Filippino Lippi—
Domenico Ghirlandaio—General considerations on Florentine Quattrocento painting.

THE painters whom this survey of the Florentine School has so far taken into account are all masters of distinction whose work denotes a definite stage in the evolution of the school. It has, however, to be borne in mind that alongside these painters there existed others of a more craftsmanlike type, and in their style lagging behind the times, but who nevertheless enjoyed considerable popularity and patronage. One such painter belonging to the period we are now considering is Neri di Bicci, the head of a great and prosperous atelier, and himself the heir of the traditions of several generations of painters—Bicci di Lorenzo, the aged fellow-assistant of Piero della Francesca under Domenico Veneziano, being his father. A large number of works by Neri di Bicci—who, born in 1419, was still living in 1491—have survived to this day: there is not one fresco amongst them, his activity having evidently been mainly concentrated upon the production of easel pictures. His art certainly is not lacking in reminiscences of the work of his great contemporaries. He is, however, by no means an entirely derivative artist, but, on the contrary, possesses a very characteristic style of his own; and although generally very stiff, clumsy, and soulless, he not infrequently achieves results which from the purely decorative point of view are very far from unsatisfactory, thanks to the effective patterns of rich pigments and lustrous gold into which his pictures resolve themselves. They prove one thing beyond any possibility of doubt, that Neri di Bicci was a very sound technician; and that a course of training under him was looked upon as very beneficial to budding artists and craftsmen is evident from the enormous number of pupils that he had. The names of many

PAINTERS OF SECOND HALF XVTH CENTURY

of these pupils have been preserved in a journal which Neri di Bicci, as the head of this large and busy workshop, saw the desirability of keeping, and which, covering the period between 1453 and 1475, is still extant, being preserved in the Library of the Uffizi Gallery in Florence. It is a great variety of callings that the pupils of Neri di Bicci represent—we read of goldsmiths, weavers, painters of playing-cards, masons, and so on—and the great majority of them were quickly again absorbed in the mass of, to us, anonymous Florentine craftsmen. Of painters who have achieved a certain fame there are not more than a couple that were trained under Neri di Bicci. With one of these—Cosimo Rosselli—we may commence our review of those Florentine fresco painters whose activity is concentrated in the second half of the fifteenth century.

Cosimo Rosselli was born in 1439 ; he was thus a mere boy of fourteen when in 1453 he was apprenticed with Neri di Bicci, and he stayed in his workshop for three years only. Indeed most of Neri di Bicci's pupils did not remain with him very long—they frequently left him even before the period of tuition contracted for had expired ; and we can imagine that, once you had picked up the technical processes, there was, for anybody with artistic ambitions, very little inducement to stay on in the big workshop, which, factory-like, did not turn even the humblest job away, and where actually the works of other artists were dealt in. Having parted from Neri di Bicci, Cosimo Rosselli may have attached himself to Benozzo Gozzoli, whose influence on him is certainly very marked. Gradually he built up for himself a certain position in Florence, painting chiefly easel pictures, though in 1476 he completed a fresco, illustrating a legend of San Filippo Benizzi, in the forecourt of the Church of the Annunziata—an agreeable work of pleasing light tonality and large and easy disposition. And that he in some quarters had come to be looked upon as an artist of the first rank is abundantly evident from one fact—namely, that in 1481 he was one of the three Florentine painters (Sandro Botticelli and Domenico Ghirlandaio being the other two) chosen to undertake the task of decorating with frescoes the Sistine chapel in Rome, built by Pope Sixtus IV., and then only just finished. Four frescoes were allotted to Cosimo Rosselli, and finished by 1483. One of the best-known anecdotes relating to Italian Renaissance art is the one told by Vasari, according to which Cosimo Rosselli, conscious of shortcomings as an artist and counting on Pope Sixtus's lack of artistic perception, used a great deal of fine ultramarine and gilding in his frescoes—not unmindful perhaps, we may add, of what

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

he had seen, as a boy student, of the taste of the more old-fashioned Florentine patrons in Neri di Bicci's workshop. When the frescoes were uncovered, the other painters were very merry at the expense of Cosimo Rosselli's garishly coloured frescoes. But the Pope gave them the prize, and, moreover, to complete Cosimo's triumph, ordered the other artists to repaint theirs on similar lines. As a matter of fact, there is little good to be said of these frescoes, one of which, the *Last Supper* (Plate 52), is rather a helpless, stiff composition, while the three others—the *Sermon on the Mount*, the *Destruction of Pharaoh*, and the *Worship of the Golden Calf*—are very confused and crowded. In painting these frescoes, Cosimo Rosselli was largely assisted by a pupil of his, known from his association with his master as Piero di Cosimo; he was at the time still very young, only about twenty, and very much dominated by his master, but was eventually to develop into one of the most fascinating Florentine painters of the time about 1500, though later in life he worked little as a fresco painter. After his return to Florence (where he died in 1507) Cosimo Rosselli in 1485 painted what is perhaps his best fresco, in the chapel of the sacrament of the Church of Sant' Ambrogio. It represents a religious procession, headed by a bishop carrying a chalice containing a relic of the blood of Christ, issuing from a church into a square, with numerous figures about, among which there are several portraits. Altogether, while it is impossible to look upon Cosimo Rosselli as a painter of more than average ability, he should not be underrated: several of his works bring before us in very enjoyable form typical Florentine qualities of plastic force and sonorous colour; and he could be a portrait painter of considerable power, as witness his male portrait which used to be in the Spiridon Collection in Paris.

The case of Cosimo Rosselli raises the question as regards the opinions held in Florence in the last quarter of the fifteenth century on the contemporary painters. On this question we possess a most interesting document in a report sent about 1485 to Lodovico il Moro, Duke of Milan, by an agent of his. The duke wished to employ a Florentine painter, and the agent singles out four artists—Sandro Botticelli, Filippino Lippi, Pietro Perugino (who was then often living in Florence, but, of course, really ranks as a member of the Umbrian School), and Domenico Ghirlandaio; and although he emphasizes that nearly all these painters had been employed in the Sistine chapel, it is significant that he should not mention Cosimo Rosselli. The report on the different artists is *in extenso* as follows (as translated by the late Herbert Horne):

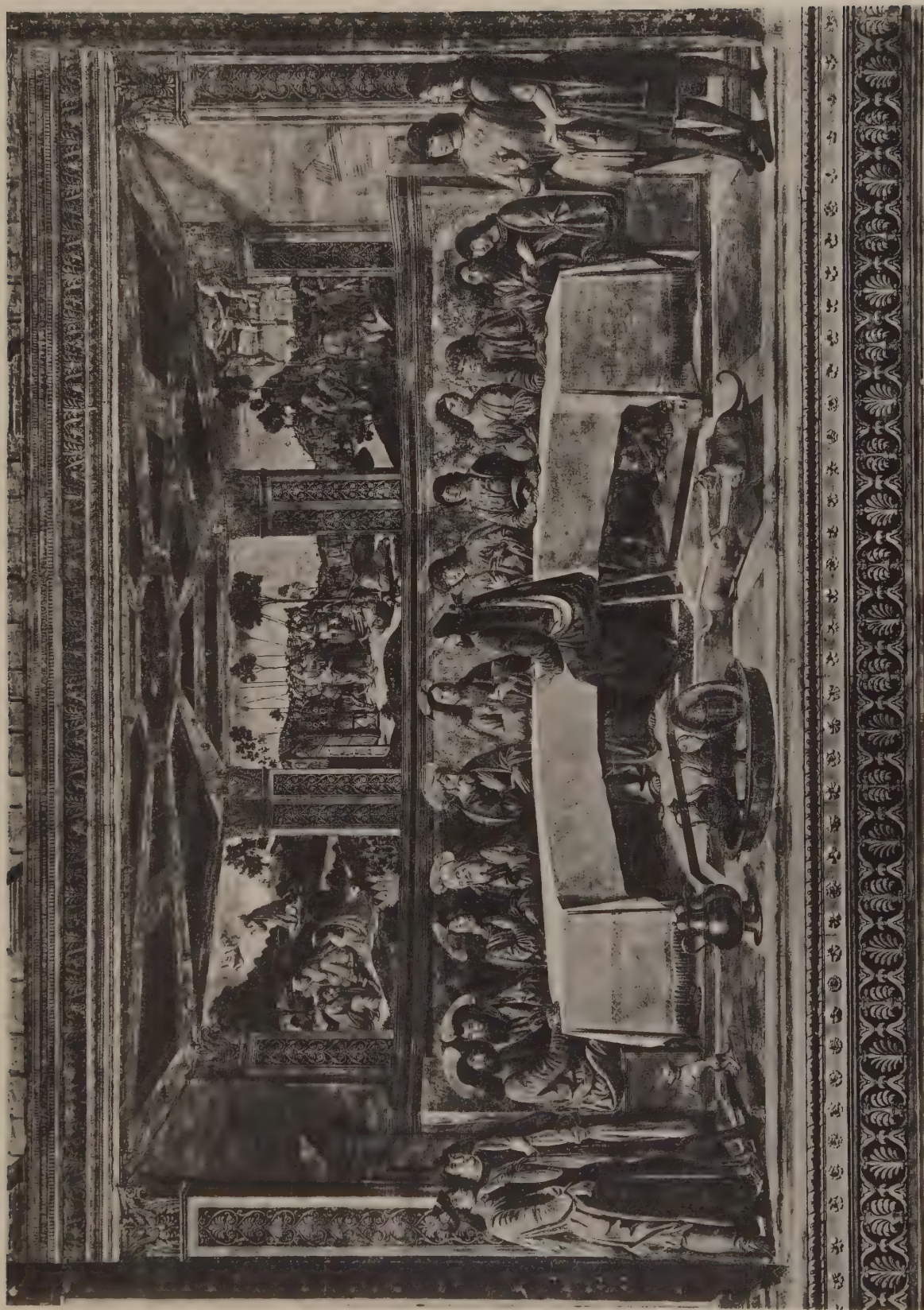


PLATE 52. — COSIMO ROSSELLI: THE LAST SUPPER.
Rome, Sistine Chapel. (Photo Anderson).

PAINTERS OF SECOND HALF XVTH CENTURY

“ Sandro di Botticelli, a most excellent painter both on panel and wall ; his works have a virile air and are [executed] with the greatest judgment and perfect proportion.

“ Filippino, the son of Fra Filippo, the best disciple of the aforesaid, and the son of the most singular master of his times ; his works have a sweet air, but not, I think, so much art.

“ Il Perugino, a singular master, especially of wall-paintings ; his works have an angelical and very sweet air.

“ Domenico di Grilandaio, a good master on panel, and still more on the wall ; his works have a good air, and he is a man of expedition and one who executes much work.

“ All these aforesaid painters have given proof of their skill in the chapel of Pope Sixtus excepting Filippino ; but all afterwards at the Spedaletto of Lorenzo il Magnifico ; and it is hard to say who bears off the palm.”

We will now conclude our review of Florentine fifteenth-century painting by considering the work of the three Florentine masters mentioned by the Duke of Milan's agent.

The first name on his list—Sandro Botticelli—is that of the artist who, all things considered, may be regarded as the Italian Quattrocento artist who is most widely known and appreciated to-day. Historically, Botticelli appears in the first instance as the heir of his master, Fra Filippo Lippi, inasmuch as the vein in which he expresses himself is intensely lyrical. But if there is a temperamental similarity between Botticelli and Fra Filippo, the difference between the two is also very great. Botticelli's emotions are of a far more deep and complicated nature than those of the gay and irresponsible Fra Filippo. Feelings of melancholy, of religious fervour and ecstasy, of unbounded delight, are conveyed by Botticelli's art in the most impressive accents ; and his principal means of expressing these are a complete mastery both of the subtlest shades of facial expression and of rhythmic beauty and impressiveness of design. His style is one that lends itself easily to imitation and exaggeration, and Botticelli had as a matter of fact a number of more or less inept imitators whose works, with their sickly sentimentality, have undoubtedly, by passing under the name of the master—or at any rate being classed as “ school of Botticelli ”—imparted a wrong colour to the current idea of Botticelli's art ; and hence also the particular importance of finding a contemporary observer laying stress on the “ virile air ” (*aria virile*) of his works. Where Botticelli is apt to fail, precisely through those qualities of highly strung sensitiveness and lyrical spon-

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

taneity of feeling which go to make up his greatness, is in grand monumental design ; and for this reason fresco cannot be regarded as his most natural vehicle of expression.

Born in 1444, Botticelli was first apprenticed to a goldsmith ; we know this from a tax return made by his father in 1457. If, as is a likely assumption, Botticelli became a pupil of Fra Filippo soon afterwards, that would have been during the long period (1452-64) when the latter, as we saw, was engaged upon the frescoes in the Duomo of Prato. Very early works by Botticelli, which, while already showing many characteristic features of his art, yet are imbued with a very strong influence from Fra Filippo, are the oblong *Adoration of the Magi* in the National Gallery and a fresco of the Madonna and Child in a country chapel near Florence, the Cappella Vannella at Corbignano. When he parted from Fra Filippo we do not know ; but he doubtless had done so at any rate by 1468, when it will be remembered that Fra Filippo went to Spoleto to commence that series of frescoes in the cathedral which he did not live to finish. Towards the end of the 'sixties, Botticelli was in all likelihood a struggling painter on his own in Florence ; and the question as to the influences which he experienced at this impressionable stage of his career, in the midst of the seething activity of the Florentine School, has been the subject of much discussion. One source of influence is indicated already by an external circumstance—the fact that Botticelli in 1470 painted a figure of Fortitude (now in the Uffizi) for the series of allegories of the Virtues for the Hall of the Mercatanzia at Florence, the majority of which had been supplied by Piero del Pollaiuolo, probably from the designs of Antonio del Pollaiuolo. There can indeed be little doubt but that Botticelli derived a great deal of benefit from study of the works of that master draughtsman Antonio del Pollaiuolo, with his keen sense of anatomical structure and gift for rendering instantaneous effects of rapid movement. But influence of a kindred nature also came from another quarter—from Andrea del Verrocchio, another painter-sculptor belonging to the same generation as Antonio del Pollaiuolo—a very scholarly artist to whom I have so far had no occasion to refer, as no work of fresco painting by him—if indeed he ever did any—is now in existence. In Botticelli's picture of Fortitude, for example, where one naturally would expect the influence of Antonio del Pollaiuolo to be paramount, the type of face is very reminiscent of Andrea del Verrocchio. The claims of Antonio del Pollaiuolo and of Andrea del Verrocchio to be looked upon as factors in shaping the style of Botticelli have been somewhat one-



PLATE 53.—SANDRO BOTTICELLI: ST. AUGUSTINE. Florence, Ognissanti.

PAINTERS OF SECOND HALF XVTH CENTURY

sidedly urged in different quarters ; and it is the merit of M. Yashiro, the Japanese critic and author of a most interesting monograph on Botticelli published a few years ago, to have emphasized the *combined* influence upon Botticelli exercised by these two artists, who helped him towards the realization of certain qualities in his art, which he could not have derived from the unscholarly Fra Filippo.

During the 'seventies, Botticelli as a fresco painter is to us now a very shadowy figure. Not that he did not paint frescoes then ; but the toll of destruction has been great, or else he did not finish what he had begun. Thus, in 1474, he was invited to paint frescoes in the Campo Santo at Pisa, and for a few months did some work in the chapel of the Incoronata, but nothing eventually came of this. In 1477 he painted a fresco of the Adoration of the Magi—a favourite subject of his—in the Palazzo dei Signori at Florence, but this has not come down to us ; and a very short-lived work of his was one of a nature we know already from Andrea del Castagno's career—a series of effigies of the members of the Pazzi conspiracy in 1478, painted on the walls of the Palazzo Pubblico. These were destroyed but sixteen years later, when the revolution of Savonarola drove the Medici temporarily out of Florence. Indeed it is not until 1480 that we again come upon a fresco by Botticelli—his figure of St. Augustine in the Church of the Ognissanti in Florence (Plate 53). This fresco was painted in direct rivalry with Domenico Ghirlandaio as a companion piece to a figure of St. Jerome by him, of which we shall have more to say anon, and which offers the most illuminating parallel to Botticelli's painting. The setting in both cases is the study of the saintly recluse—a motive which for some time had been much elaborated in one category of the representations of St. Jerome—altogether much more frequent than those of St. Augustine—and which afforded a welcome outlet for the budding aspirations of interior and still life painters ; just as the other class of representations of St. Jerome, showing him in the wilderness, gave much scope to the early landscape painters. Beautifully painted though the details in Botticelli's setting are, they do not, however, as in so many subjects of this type, lead the eye astray ; attention is most effectively concentrated on the noble figure of St. Augustine, with his magnificent sweep of movement and intensity of expression. How many paintings one has seen of rapturous saints ; and how few of them combine such fervour as here with an *aria virile*. A contact with the masculine and powerful art of Andrea del Castagno has repeatedly been noted in this work, and doubtless justly ; but

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

whatever Botticelli has acquired from the outside, he has fully made his own.

The year after this fresco was painted Botticelli joined the band of artists summoned to decorate the Sistine chapel with frescoes.¹ Botticelli's work there was done with great expeditiousness: the agreement for the frescoes, signed on October 27, 1481, stipulates that they are to be ready by March 15 of the following year; and even if some of the other painters did not keep to that date, Botticelli probably did so more or less, since it is on record that he was back in Florence by August 1482. His share in the decoration of the Sistine chapel comprises three large frescoes and the greater part of the figures of popes on the pillars between the windows, not to speak of the decorations of the walls in imitation of patterned hanging underneath his frescoes. It is interesting to analyse one of them—the story of the youth of Moses—at some length (Plate 54). We see here, in reckless application of the method of continuous representation, no fewer than seven distinct episodes in the life of Moses depicted. In the foreground on the left he is slaying the Egyptian; farther back he is seen fleeing into the land of Midian; then he drives away the shepherds who had interfered with the daughters of Midian whose flocks he is seen watering in the centre; then farther back again he is seen putting off his shoes on a hill and kneeling before the Burning Bush; and in the foreground on the left, finally, Moses and his family are returning to Egypt. It may, of course, be argued that Botticelli's hands were to a certain extent tied by the wishes of his patrons, but nevertheless this absolute lack of monumental simplicity and concentration in the design is characteristic of Botticelli. The whole is like a loose array of lyrical fragments; and these again are in themselves undoubtedly of great beauty, notably the scene where Moses flees towards the solitude, with its impressive background of rock and sky, and the silhouette one solitary slender tree; or, again, the idyllic episode where he waters the sheep of the maidens, whose figures, even in Botticelli's work, stand apart for exquisite gracefulness and charm. How characteristic, too, of Botticelli that he should have chosen this poetical incident as the one which first catches the eye, and not the much more important one of God appearing to Moses! The fresco representing the Destruction of the Company of Korah is certainly less confused and has a magnificent dramatic episode in the centre; but neither it nor the *Purification of the Leper* shows

¹ Slightly anterior in date to the frescoes in the Sistine chapel is doubtless also the fine *Annunciation* painted on the wall of a chapel of the Church of San Martino alla Scala at Florence.



PLATE 54. — SANDRO BOTTICELLI: THE YOUTH OF MOSES.
Rome, Sistine Chapel. (Photo Anderson).

PAINTERS OF SECOND HALF XVTH CENTURY

an artist essentially at variance from the one we know from the *Story of Moses*.

A very important work of fresco decoration must have been the one, undertaken about 1484, by several painters who had been working in the Sistine chapel—Botticelli, Ghirlandaio, and Perugino—with the addition of Filippino Lippi, the son of Fra Filippo, in a country house of Lorenzo de' Medici near Volterra, called Spedaletto. We saw that the agent of the Duke of Milan referred to these frescoes in 1485, and Vasari also speaks of them ; but unfortunately none of them have come down to us. We do not even know what subject or subjects Botticelli treated there ; but since Vasari says that Ghirlandaio painted a mythological scene at the Spedaletto (the Story of Vulcan), we may conclude that the subjects of the Spedaletto frescoes were derived from Classical mythology. Hence whatever Botticelli painted there was doubtless akin to those works—the *Primavera*, the *Birth of Venus*, and so forth—in which he gives shape to his visions of the figures and scenes of the mythology of the ancients, and to our modern way of feeling exercises perhaps his greatest fascination ; for in these works Botticelli's intense poetical imagination finds perhaps its fullest scope, and they are as free as possible from anything savouring of archæological reconstruction—there is no attempt in these works to revive the types and forms of the Antique, the Classical conceptions being expressed in Botticelli's own personal language and receiving an altogether new life and significance. As against the regrettable loss of the Spedaletto frescoes, we can, however, set the recovery of some frescoes of doubtless very similar character, which are entirely unrecorded by the ancient authors, but with evidence of style are indisputably Botticelli's, and can, moreover, be dated with great accuracy. The frescoes in question were discovered in 1873 in the Villa Lemmi, near Florence, which in 1469 had been sold to the Tornabuoni family, in the possession of which it remained till 1541. The two principal frescoes were painted to celebrate the marriage which took place in 1486 between Lorenzo Tornabuoni and Giovanna degli Albizzi ; they were ultimately acquired for the Louvre, where, in the not uncongenial atmosphere of the *Escalier Daru*, they conjure up from afar visions of Italy. *In situ* there still remains one fresco, greatly damaged, of an old man with a young woman. In one of the Louvre frescoes the bridegroom is being conducted by a young woman, personifying Dialectics, to the company of some other young women, seated in a semicircle—these again representing the liberal arts presided over by Philosophy (Plate 55). Delightful as this fresco is, in its calm and

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

gentle gravity, it is yet surpassed by the other one in which the lovely young Giovanna degli Albizzi steps forward to meet four equally enchanting creatures—possibly Venus and the three Graces—the foremost of whom is dropping flowers into the white apron of Giovanna, gathered up to receive them (Plate 56). Reminiscent of a Greek vase painting in its simplicity of disposition, this fresco is most exquisitely designed, with the delightful undulating movement of the four goddesses, so harmoniously intricate, answered and balanced by the definite vertical marked by Giovanna; and added to this the charm, in features and expression of the heads, and the clear and luminous colouring, all combine to make this work the most perfect example of Botticelli as a fresco painter now in existence.

Botticelli lived on for about twenty years after the probable date of the Tornabuoni frescoes, dying in 1507; but he painted few frescoes during these years, and of those that he did paint—there is a record of a figure of St. Francis painted in the monastery of Monticelli in 1497—none survives. We may recall how during this period Botticelli came under the influence of a current of thought marked by the most uncompromising hostility to the tendencies which had been fostered at the court of Lorenzo de' Medici—namely, the revivalist propaganda of Savonarola, the Dominican friar, who, in 1494, on the death of Lorenzo, brought about the expulsion of the Medici from Florence. Whether Botticelli was one of the numerous artists who, at the instigation of Savonarola, threw their studies of the nude into the fire lit in the main square of Florence on the Shrove Tuesdays of 1497 and 1498 we do not know for certain; but there is abundant evidence to show that the teaching of Savonarola, and especially his subsequent martyrdom and death at the stake in 1498, stirred the impressionable mind of Botticelli most profoundly; and the result of this is seen in the wave of the most uncontrolled, almost hysterical, religious feeling which breaks forth in Botticelli's last works—no fresco being, however, as already pointed out, among the extant examples.

We may now turn to a consideration of the artist whom the Duke of Milan's agent mentions immediately after Botticelli—"Filippino, the son of Fra Filippo, the best disciple of the aforesaid, and the son of the most singular master of his times"; adding as his appreciation that "his works have a sweet air, but not, I think, so much art."

Born in 1457, Filippino Lippi was but a boy when his father passed away in 1469, and he is not likely to have received much direct tuition from Fra



PLATE 55.—SANDRO BOTTICELLI: LORENZO TORNABUONI AND THE LIBERAL ARTS.
Paris, Louvre.



PLATE 56.—SANDRO BOTTICELLI: GIOVANNA DEGLI ALBIZZI, VENUS AND THE THREE GRACES. Paris, Louvre.

PAINTERS OF SECOND HALF XVTH CENTURY

Filippo. When he was fifteen, he became the pupil of Botticelli; and everything points to his talent having been of a very precocious growth. Certainly, by the time he was twenty-five, he had achieved a most remarkable command of his art; as may be seen from his celebrated picture of the Virgin appearing to St. Bernard, in the Church of the Badia in Florence, completed in 1482—a work of some real charm undoubtedly, and in particular having that “sweet air” which Lodovico il Moro’s observant agent noted. And yet one cannot, I think, help feeling that it is essentially the work of an artist whose brilliant facility of execution but insufficiently conceals what is after all but a rather commonplace imagination. What we see here is, at bottom, the vulgarization not so much of the forms of Botticelli—for Filippino Lippi was gifted enough not to have to copy the forms of Botticelli as so many others did—as the vulgarization of the spirit of Botticelli’s art. We get here an indication of the fatal flaw in Filippino Lippi’s artistic constitution, which condemned him ever to remain second rate. “Sweet air, but not, I think, so much art”—it could not be better put.

Meanwhile success came to Filippino Lippi in generous measure. Just imagine what it meant, in hypercritical Florence, to be called upon, at the age of twenty-seven, to complete the series of frescoes in the Brancacci chapel—the temple and academy of art in the eyes of every artist. The whole of the oblong space forming the lower tier of the wall to the right of the altar was still bare, and here Filippino painted a populous composition, combining two incidents—on the left the *Crucifixion of St. Peter*, on the right *SS. Peter and Paul before Nero* (Plate 57). In the lower part of the two pilasters of the entrance, beneath the Adam and Eve subjects, there were also empty spaces; these were now made to contain, on the left a fresco of the Angel leading St. Peter out of Prison; and on the right, one of *SS. Peter and Paul in Prison*. Moreover, in the fresco of the Raising of the son of Theophilus, Filippino, as we have seen, filled in a couple of spaces which had been left empty by Masaccio.

Of one thing there can be no doubt—that Filippino has made a serious effort to harmonize his frescoes with those by Masaccio. One notices this particularly in this one oblong fresco, where the frieze-like composition, with the figures in one long sequence in the foreground, and also the treatment of the architectural setting, show a conscious endeavour on the part of Filippino to adopt the manner of Masaccio. But the weightiness and massive force which characterize Masaccio were not within the reach of

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

Filippino. His figures, in comparison with those of Masaccio, strike one as skittish and insignificant. His shortcomings are least apparent in the two narrow upright compositions on the pilasters, where monumental quality, so to speak, looks after itself. Indeed, the figure of St. Paul in the scene where he addresses St. Peter through the prison window has real grandeur. It is interesting in this connection to note, that while Vasari records the fact that Filippino "in his first youth" finished the frescoes in the Brancacci chapel, he dwells chiefly on the fresco by Masaccio into which Filippino only inserted a few missing details, and does not even mention the two paintings on the pilasters. Hence it came about that gradually a considerable vagueness crept in as to what Filippino really did in the Brancacci chapel, and eventually practically the whole of the fresco decoration was held to be by Masaccio. This fact has an interesting bearing on the question of Sir Joshua Reynolds as a student of the early Italian painters. In a passage of his Twelfth Discourse, in which he discusses the dependence of great artists upon ideas which they have acquired from the outside, the instance which he chooses for illustration is that of the use made by Raphael in his cartoons of the studies he had made of Masaccio's works; and one of his terms of comparison is that of the figure of St. Paul in Filippino's fresco of SS. Peter and Paul in Prison, in which he, no doubt rightly, sees an affinity to the figure of St. Paul in Raphael's cartoon of the Sermon of St. Paul at Athens. Extraordinarily keen as this proves Sir Joshua's observation of the Brancacci frescoes to have been, it also shows his limitations, in not having been able to take one step farther and recognize the enormous gulf which separates Masaccio's art from that of Filippino Lippi.

Though Filippino is unable to repress his characteristic mannerisms, yet his Carmine frescoes must be regarded as a remarkably successful effort at *pastiche*; but the vein of Masaccio was one essentially foreign to him, and he never again attempted anything on these lines of severe monumental quality. His success continued. We find him, still very young, employed together with the most famous painters of the day, including his own teacher, at the Medici Villa at Spedaletto: again, as in the case of Botticelli, we have no clue as to what he did there. Soon after, in 1488, he went to Rome, carrying a warm letter of recommendation from Lorenzo de' Medici to Cardinal Oliviero Caraffa; and by this dignitary he was commissioned to paint a series of frescoes in a chapel of the Church of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva in Rome, which still exists. Two of these frescoes are devoted



PLATE 57.—FILIPPINO LIPPI: SS. PETER AND PAUL BEFORE NERO (Detail).
Florence, Brancacci Chapel, Santa Maria del Carmine.

PAINTERS OF SECOND HALF XVTH CENTURY

to the glorification of St. Thomas Aquinas, whom we see again, as in the Spanish chapel, triumphing over heretical theologians ; while above the altar a fresco depicts the Annunciation, with the kneeling donor introduced, and in the surmounting lunette is seen the Assumption of the Virgin (Plate 58). This last composition in particular is very significant of certain tendencies which from now onwards become very pronounced in Filippino Lippi. He goes in for a violent rush of movement and restless flutter of lines which give a very definite foretaste of the style, not of the mature Renaissance now close at hand, but of the style of the period which followed after that of the Renaissance—the period of the Baroque ; only that Filippino Lippi's style lacks the qualities of grandeur and fullness and breadth of disposition which are characteristic of the real Baroque. But that to the end of his career he was able to recapture qualities of quiet charm and gentleness is shown above anything else by the exquisite fresco of the Madonna and Child with Saints which in 1498 he painted for an open-air shrine at the corner of the Via Santa Margherita at Prato.

The last great work as a fresco painter undertaken by Filippino Lippi is the series of paintings in the Strozzi chapel in the Church of Santa Maria Novella at Florence. The commission for these frescoes had been given to Filippino as far back as 1487 by Filippo Strozzi, but at the time Filippino only carried out four figures of patriarchs on the ceiling, and then went off to Rome, excusing himself from the rest in a letter he wrote to Filippo Strozzi in 1489. Meanwhile, Filippo Strozzi had died in 1491 ; and it was not until 1500 that Filippino resumed the work for his heirs : it was finished in 1502. The frescoes illustrate a number of scenes from the legend of St. John the Evangelist and St. Philip ; they can only be said to produce a very unsatisfactory impression, marked as they are all through by a curious restlessness, exaggeration of movement and expression, and pointless eccentricity. It can therefore scarcely be said that when Filippino was carried off by death two years after the completion of these frescoes, in 1504, in the fullness of his best manhood, a career was cut short which might yet have led to great triumphs. On the contrary, one may say that Filippino Lippi is a most striking illustration of the type of artist who starts off, usually very young, with a superabundance of talent, but with no real æsthetic backbone. He never perhaps fundamentally changes ; but his early works, marked as they generally are by qualities of a certain quiet and restraint, inevitably produce a much more satisfactory impression than his later performances. Every period and country has its Filippino

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

Lippis; the case of John Everett Millais is not without its analogies to his.

And so we come finally to the last of the painters whose names were submitted to Lodovico il Moro—"Domenico di Ghirlandaio, a good master on panel, and still more on the wall; his works have a good air, and he is a man of expedition and one who executes much work."

Again an appreciation with which it is possible to express an entire agreement, so far as it goes. Contrary to Botticelli, who painted chiefly easel pictures, Ghirlandaio was in the first instance a fresco painter. Indeed it is really in his frescoes that his art finds its full scope; his panel pictures, not very numerous, give but an inadequate idea of his powers; and there is nothing improbable in the story reported by Vasari that, in his desire to work upon big spaces of wall, Ghirlandaio once expressed the wish that he might be allowed to decorate with frescoes the whole circuit of the city walls of Florence. Temperamentally, also, Ghirlandaio forms the greatest possible contrast to Botticelli, instead of whose lyricism and highly-strung sensitiveness we find in him a prosaic and phlegmatic quality of feeling. A descriptive realism comes very much to the fore in Ghirlandaio; and while there is a certain simple grandeur in his design, which justifies the expression "his works have a good air," it must be admitted that it is, on the whole, grandeur of a somewhat inarticulate kind.

Born in 1449, Domenico Ghirlandaio followed what was, as we have seen, a very usual curriculum for Florentine painters of his time in being first apprenticed to a goldsmith. We have Vasari's authority for saying that as a painter he was a pupil of Alesso Baldovinetti. Artistically the descent of Ghirlandaio from Baldovinetti is to some extent borne witness to by his earliest works; and it is also a notable fact that Baldovinetti's interest in mosaic work, of which, as mentioned before, he was a somewhat solitary practitioner in Florence, found a response in Ghirlandaio, to whom no workmanlike proposition appealed in vain. Did he not, according to Vasari, give orders to his apprentices, that no work, however humble, was to be turned away from the atelier?—if nobody else wanted to paint it, he, the head of the atelier, would. There exists to this day one mosaic by Domenico Ghirlandaio, an *Annunciation* over the north door of the Florence Duomo dating from 1490; and his elder brother David carried on an extensive activity as a mosaicist, one result of which, a *Madonna and Child with two Angels*, the student may see in the Musée de Cluny in Paris. Both David and another brother, Benedetto, became assistants in the atelier of



PLATE 58. — FILIPPINO LIPPI: THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN.
Rome, Santa Maria Sopra Minerva. (Photo Anderson).

PAINTERS OF SECOND HALF XVTH CENTURY

Domenico, and the actual execution of most of its output was doubtless left to them. Another important assistant was Bastiano Mainardi of San Gimignano who married a sister of Domenico; he was indeed an artist of a certain individuality, who both as a painter of easel pictures and as a *frescante* fills a niche of his own not without distinction.

Among the earliest extant works by Domenico Ghirlandaio are some frescoes which he, about 1475, painted in a chapel of the Collegiata of San Gimignano, dedicated to a holy Virgin of great local renown who died in the fourteenth century, Santa Fina.¹ The two principal subjects here are the scene in which St. Gregory appears to Santa Fina, prophesying her death—a composition showing Ghirlandaio's characteristic gift of depicting a realistic interior already fully developed—and the *Burial of Santa Fina*, a simple, symmetrical composition, with the famous towers of San Gimignano in the distance, and rows of portrait heads among the figures, such as were to become constant features of Ghirlandaio's frescoes. On the conclusion of this work there followed some years of wandering, which brought Ghirlandaio into a first brief contact with the Vatican; and in 1480 we find him back again in Florence, engaged upon two frescoes in the Monastery and Church of Ognissanti; one, a *Last Supper* of considerable dimensions, in the refectory, and the other a *St. Jerome in his Study* (Plate 59), painted, it will be recalled, as a companion piece to Botticelli's *St. Augustine* of the same year. The temperamental contrast between the two artists becomes most strikingly apparent when one compares these two frescoes of such kindred subjects: where Botticelli shows us an eccentric visionary, Ghirlandaio brings before us a placid old scholar; and the details of the furniture and paraphernalia of the study are much more numerous and force themselves upon our attention in quite a different way from what is the case with Botticelli's painting. The composition does show some affinity to a small *St. Jerome* by Petrus Christus, now in the Detroit Museum, which may be a copy after a picture of the same subject by John van Eyck which in the fifteenth century belonged to the Medici family; and the suggestion has even been made that Ghirlandaio was definitely inspired by that work in painting this fresco. Personally, I incline, however, to the view that the subject of St. Jerome in his study had by this time become such a commonplace one in Italy that there is no necessity to suppose that Ghirlandaio here worked with a definite Flemish prototype in his mind.

¹ The iconography of this little known saint has lately been made the subject of an interesting paper by Dr. Paul Clemen in *Schubring-Festschrift*, Leipzig, 1929, p. 10 sqq.

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

The whole question as to whether Ghirlandaio was influenced by Flemish art—to which by his dry precision and fondness for detailed description he is undoubtedly somewhat akin—is one of considerable difficulty. Flemish pictures certainly were imported into Italy at this time in great numbers : of one of the outstanding works of the whole Flemish School, Hugo van der Goes' Portinari altar-piece, we know that it has been in Florence ever since 1482—too late a date for it, however, to have played a part in the shaping of Domenico Ghirlandaio's style. All things considered, I think the probability is that Ghirlandaio's affinity to Flemish art is mainly a temperamental one ; to some extent he inherited that affinity with the realistic tendencies of his master, Alesso Baldovinetti.

Soon after the completion of his Ognissanti frescoes, there arrived, as we saw, the summons to Ghirlandaio to come and paint in the Sistine chapel. His share in the decoration consisted of two large frescoes : one, representing the Calling of the First Apostles, which survives intact ; and the other, representing the Resurrection of Christ, which, having been damaged by the fall of an architrave, was completely painted over in the seventeenth century ; and beyond these frescoes, Ghirlandaio also painted a few of the figures of popes on the pilasters between the windows. More than any other fresco by Ghirlandaio, the *Calling of the First Apostles* is a definite essay in the manner of Masaccio, leading one's thoughts more particularly to the fresco of the Tribute Money. Ghirlandaio's matter-of-fact nature is, however, incapable of infusing into his characters anything even approaching Masaccio's stern pathos ; and while there is a certain sense of largeness and monumental quality of disposition, there is at the same time, both in the quality of line and the planning of the design, considerable stiffness and awkwardness. The tendency to introduce rows of staid portrait figures is very marked.

Like Botticelli, Ghirlandaio worked in the Sistine chapel with great speed ; he was back in Florence in the spring of 1482, and in the course of that year began some frescoes—the *Glorification of St. Zenobius* and other subjects—in the Palazzo Vecchio at Florence. The date of the same year is borne by a fresco of the Annunciation in the chapel of St. John in the Collegiata at San Gimignano (Plate 60)—a most attractive composition, with the Virgin receiving the angel's message kneeling on the spacious terrace outside her house, a green Tuscan landscape being seen in the distance on the left. The charming details of still life in the Virgin's bookshelf are quite in the style of the Ognissanti *St. Jerome* ; but the



PLATE 59.—DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO: ST. JEROME. Florence, Ognissanti.



PLATE 60.—BASTIANO MAINARDI: THE ANNUNCIATION. San Gimignano Collegiata.

PAINTERS OF SECOND HALF XVTH CENTURY

execution of this fresco is doubtless mainly, perhaps entirely, due to Bastiano Mainardi.

The next great work of fresco decoration undertaken by Ghirlandaio had for its scene the chapel of the Sassetti family in the Church of the SS. Trinita in Florence. In these frescoes we find once again the life of St. Francis of Assisi made the subject of a picture chronicle; and it is interesting to note how even now the echoes of Giotto's formula for such of the subjects as he had treated are still clearly traceable. From an inscription we know that these frescoes were completed in December 1485; but three or four months before, Ghirlandaio had entered upon the agreement to paint the frescoes which form the culminating achievement of his career—namely, those which decorate the choir of the Church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence. We learn from Vasari that the choir had previously been adorned with frescoes by Andrea Orcagna of the same subjects as Ghirlandaio treated; but that as a result of the roof leaking these had been so much injured that it was held desirable to have the whole chapel decorated afresh. He also gives an amusing account of how the obstructionist tactics of the Ricci family, who were the patrons of the chapel, were circumvented by the noble Florentine who bore the whole cost of the frescoes, Giovanni Tornabuoni. The agreement concerning the paintings still exists, and is a document of extraordinary interest, going into the minutest details, and reserving for Tornabuoni a control over the work which is quite surprising. The parties to the agreement are on the one hand Tornabuoni, and on the other Domenico and David Ghirlandaio; it stipulates that the work is to begin in May 1486, and to be brought to a conclusion within four years. The fee is to be eleven hundred florins, payable in monthly instalments. Each and every one of the seven scenes to be depicted on each of the two main walls—from the Life of the Virgin and the Life of the Baptist respectively—is definitely named; the artists were also to cause a window in the centre wall to be walled up, and to paint a *Coronation of the Virgin* on it; while definite instructions are given as regards the figures of saints to be painted on each side of the big window. Moreover, Tornabuoni is to be entitled to cause the artists to introduce into the different paintings any motives fancied by him, such as “buildings, mountains, valleys, birds, and beasts”; and before each fresco is carried out on the wall, a sketch for the composition is to be submitted to Tornabuoni for his approval and modification. It must be emphasized that this document probably reflected the personal idiosyncrasies of Tornabuoni,

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

and should not be regarded as typical of Quattrocento agreements with painters; in other such agreements known to us no parallel to these vexatious stipulations can be discovered.

The frescoes were completed within the time limit fixed, and although in some parts rather injured by damp form an ensemble of absolutely superb effect. It is true that in the individual compositions we look in vain for any profound inspiration or real dramatic power; but as a reflection of the life of the prosperous burgher oligarchy of Florence, interpreted in a language of much vigour and directness, these frescoes have undoubtedly a very great fascination. Ghirlandaio's inordinate fondness for the introduction of portraits comes out particularly in such a fresco as the one of the Sacrifice of Zacharias, where one's attention is so much absorbed by the rows of Florentine burghers on each side that no interest is left for the group of Zacharias and the angel in the centre (Plate 61). Among the frescoes illustrating the daily life and manners and customs of late fifteenth-century Florence, a particularly notable one shows the interior of a room in a Florentine palace, with the new-born baby—the Infant Virgin—in the arms of the nurse, while a party of ladies is just arriving to pay the customary visit to the mother; on the right a maid is bending briskly forward pouring water from a jug into a bowl for the infant's bath (Plate 62). The alertness of the movement of this figure, and her undulating draperies, form a very striking contrast to the very staid rhythm of line on the opposite side of the composition, and a real grasp of the idea of monumental design is doubtless apparent both in the individual figures and the spacing of the whole, though the moment one comes to analysing the details of the relations of all these forms to one another the artist's defective sense of rhythmic harmony is strongly felt. The Florence of Ghirlandaio's day is also very vividly brought home to us in the fresco of the Visitation (Plate 63). Ghirlandaio has here set the stage of the meeting between the Virgin and St. Elizabeth in a locality immediately suggestive of the heights about Florence—say at San Miniato. In the plain below are seen the buildings of the city (no definite picture of Florence being, however, aimed at), and the details of the scene are set out with a verve of anecdote which reminds one vividly of Carpaccio; idlers are dallying on the ramparts, looking down into the valley and turning their backs on the spectator as well as on the principal episode; a girl carrying a platter of provisions on her head hurries panting up the steep lastricated pathway, and so on. Four birds in rapid flight are very conspicuous above on the left: one wonders



PLATE 61. — DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO: THE SACRIFICE OF ZACHARIAS.
Florence, Santa Maria Novella. (Photo Anderson).

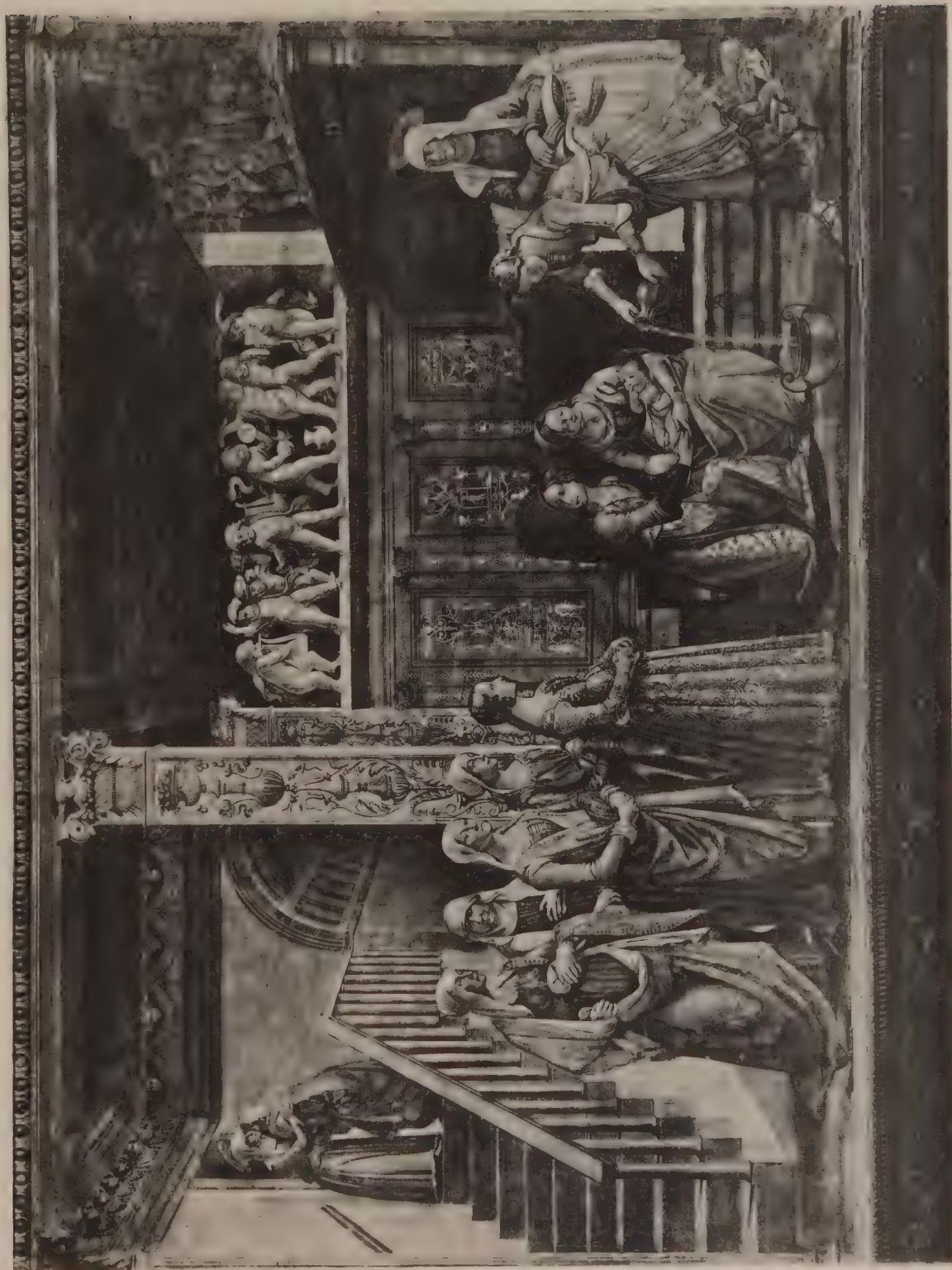


PLATE 62. — DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO: THE BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN.
Florence, Santa Maria Novella. (Photo Anderson).

PAINTERS OF SECOND HALF XVTH CENTURY

whether this feature, not paralleled anywhere else in Ghirlandaio, is a direct outcome of Giovanni Tornabuoni's stipulation that he is to be at liberty to have any "birds or beasts" he likes introduced into the composition. The group of the Virgin and St. Elizabeth, though not very effectively emphasized in the composition, is nevertheless a fine one in itself, especially the figure of the Virgin being of great nobility and expressiveness; and the artist has given of his best in the figures of Florentine ladies watching the scene—the fascinating young creature in a brocade dress, seen in sharp profile on the right, being a particular focus of attention: she is a figure very closely akin to that most attractive among Ghirlandaio's single portraits, the profile of Giovanna Tornabuoni in the Pierpont Morgan Collection in New York.

Contemporary Florence must have looked upon this cycle of frescoes with exultant pride; and this sentiment finds an eloquently phrased echo in the inscription, dictated by Angelo Poliziano, the famous Florentine poet, which occurs on the arch in the distance of the *Sacrifice of Zacharias*, recording the completion of the work "in the year 1490, when the most beautiful city, ennobled by riches, victories, arts, and buildings, was in full enjoyment of prosperity, health, and peace."¹ One is conscious of being present here at one of the supreme moments of Medicean civilization in Florence; and soon after two of the principal actors in the drama were to pass away, both still in the flower of their age—Lorenzo de' Medici in 1492, Domenico Ghirlandaio in 1494.

One point of general nature may yet be emphasized before we leave the Florentine School of the fifteenth century—and that is, that the predominant tendencies of painting, indeed no less than of sculpture, at the beginning and the end of the period, are far from being identical. What is true of Masaccio, of Andrea del Castagno, of Donatello, is only to a very limited extent true of Botticelli, of Filippino Lippi, and of Ghirlandaio. People are apt to forget this change; and, because the next phase of Italian art, the mature Renaissance, makes a most definite reaction against the tendencies of late Florentine fifteenth-century art, to speak of those tendencies as characteristic of Quattrocento art in general. That is a point of view which one finds constantly taken in such a very stimulating book as Heinrich Wölfflin's *Die Klassische Kunst*: when he speaks of Quattrocento art, he almost invariably takes his instances from Ghirlandaio and Filippino

¹ AN MCCCCLXXXX QVO PVLCHERRIMA CIVITAS OPIBUS VICTORIIS ARTIBUS ÆDIFICIISQVE NOBILIS COPIA SALVBRITE PERFRVEBATVR.

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

Lippi ; but, of course, Donatello and Masaccio are Quattrocento artists also. The truth is that the great artistic revolution of the Cinquecento, as exemplified in the works of a Leonardo da Vinci and a Michelangelo, is largely in the nature of a return to the artistic outlook of Masaccio ; just as Masaccio again had gone past the work of the contemporary Late Gothic painters and taken up and further developed art as Giotto left it.



PLATE 63. — DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO: THE VISITATION.
Florence, Santa Maria Novella. (Photo Anderson).

SECTION III
THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Chapter I

LEONARDO DA VINCI

The character of sixteenth-century art in Florence—Leonardo da Vinci—His *Adoration of the Magi* in the Uffizi—The cartoon for the *Battle of Anghiari* for the Council Chamber at Florence—Copies of the *Battle of the Standard*—Character and influence of the composition.

THE style of the mature Renaissance is often loosely referred to as the Cinquecento style ; and seeing that the style in question was practised during the greater part of the sixteenth century, and that it was only after 1500 that its ideals obtained the supremacy in art, there is much justification for using that expression. It has to be borne in mind, however, that what we understand by the Cinquecento style had come into being a good while before the fifteenth century had actually run to an end.

If one envisages Italian Cinquecento painting as a whole, and endeavours briefly to describe its main characteristics, one may note, in the first place, a free and flexible flow of line and absolute effectiveness in the rendering of movement ; but at the same time the system of design has a simple and monumental character. In the Cinquecento compositions there is no stiff symmetry or thoughtless co-ordination of elements ; the compositions are built on severely architectural lines, every part keeping its proper place in subordination to the whole ; but the architectural backbone of the compositions is not unduly apparent. As regards composition, one also notes a frequent tendency to compress the figures within a comparatively small space, so far as the surface of the picture is concerned, giving at the same time a very vivid impression of the depth of space in the scene represented. The distribution of light and shade is marked by breadth and simplicity ; and generally speaking there is also a tendency to suggest as much as possible the atmospheric envelopment of form. I do not think it would be wise to go much further in generalizations concerning Cinquecento, seeing how vast and complex a subject it is ; but it is perhaps worth while emphasizing in this connection how the rise of the new style took place in Venice and in

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

Florence in a very different way. In Venice the Cinquecento style may be said to have been gradually evolved by the artist who had been the central figure of the Venetian School during the latter part of the Quattrocento—Giovanni Bellini ; no doubt, the final perfection was given to the new style by the younger men, by Giorgione and Titian, but nevertheless Bellini's share in shaping it was a direct and considerable one. In Florence, as already remarked, the creation of the Cinquecento style had in many ways the character of a reaction against the tendencies of late Quattrocento art, in which the monumental and dramatic ideas had been practically lost, and of a return to the tradition of Masaccio ; though naturally, in spite of this fundamental difference between the late Quattrocento and the early Cinquecento styles in Florence, they are also linked together by many bonds.

The artist who established the style of the mature Renaissance in the Florentine school of painting was Leonardo da Vinci, who, born in 1452, was but little younger than Domenico Ghirlandaio, and actually older than Filippino Lippi. The other giant of the ripe Renaissance in Florence, Michelangelo, was very considerably Leonardo's junior, not having been born until 1475 ; and his contemporaries, more or less, were the artists who, though second to him in importance, yet take a very distinguished rank among the earlier Florentine painters of the mature Renaissance—Fra Bartolomeo, Mariotto Albertinelli, Andrea del Sarto, and Franciabigio. Nearer the close of the century were born two of the most notable younger Cinquecentists in Florence, Rosso and Pontormo ; and actually within the sixteenth century falls the birth of the last great Cinquecento painter of Florence, Agnolo Bronzino. All these artists worked as fresco painters, some predominantly so, others to a less extent ; and, as before, we find the gospel of Florentine art being carried by Florentine masters far beyond the boundaries of the city. Indeed, the only works of fresco decoration ever fully carried out by Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo were done, not in Florence, but in Milan and Rome respectively. The Florentine Government did order one great fresco of each of these artists for the Council Chamber of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence ; and the cartoons for both these compositions were finished and publicly exhibited ; but the frescoes themselves were never completed. Therefore, while it is possible in Florence to trace, stage by stage, the earlier phases of the development of Florentine fresco painting from Giotto onwards, it has come to this anomalous situation that in Florence itself that evolution, as it were, lacks its proper

LEONARDO DA VINCI

finale. We do possess, however, sufficient data to enable us to form at least some idea of the character of both cartoons ; and such is their importance in the history of Florentine painting, that it is upon them that we will concentrate in our appreciation of Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo as fresco painters, all the more so as sufficient emphasis has not always been laid on these two great " shadow frescoes " in works treating of the history of Florentine painting from a more general point of view.

If one is asked to indicate the work in which the new ideas of style in Florentine painting first find their fullest expression, I think there can be little hesitation as to which that work is—Leonardo da Vinci's picture of the Adoration of the Magi, in the Uffizi, ordered of him in 1481 for the Church of San Donato a Scopeto near Florence, and left unfinished by him when, a year or two later, he went to Milan to enter the service of Lodovico il Moro. At the time when he began painting this picture he was no longer in his first youth, but twenty-nine years of age. Behind him lay the years he had spent in Andrea del Verrocchio's studio ; with various extant works that issued from it he doubtless had been associated, though the exact extent of that association has been, and doubtless ever will be, a subject of much discussion. As a painter on his own, he had in 1478 been commissioned to paint a picture for the chapel of St. Bernard in the Palazzo Vecchio which has not come down to us ; and more or less contemporary with the *Adoration of the Magi* is probably the little " Benois Madonna " in the Hermitage, which, though less comprehensively, shows the same characteristics of style as we find in the larger picture. It is not as if Leonardo in his *Adoration* created in total oblivion of the artists among whom he had grown up ; on the contrary, on several points it is possible to trace a distinct connection between motives in his composition and Botticelli's interpretations of the same subject. But the whole breathes a new spirit of monumental quality and simplification, which does not, however, by any means interfere with the expression of intense dramatic emotion. He operates with comparatively few figures, and yet by playing out quiet lines and masses against agitated ones achieves effects of a crowd in great agitation : the principal incident is really developed in a very narrow foreground zone, and yet the lines so arranged as to convey a very vivid impression of the depth of space. All this is characteristic of the mature Renaissance—to grasp the essentials and not indulge in countless little detailed statements as the late Quattrocento does ; and to achieve striking and significant effects by means of vivid contrasts. It will be noted that this is word for word with

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

what one might say of Giotto or Masaccio. As to the treatment of light and shade, it is difficult to be sure, seeing that the picture is just sketched in ; but from such indications as exist, and going by the analogies offered by other works by Leonardo, he probably meant to concentrate the light on the figures in the centre and envelop the others into shadow : so here again we see how Leonardo takes up and further develops the tendencies of Masaccio.

The great pictorial performance of Leonardo da Vinci's Milanese period is his *Last Supper*, still surviving, though but a shadow of its real self, on the wall of the refectory of Santa Maria delle Grazie. As to the date of this work it is not accurately ascertained, but the probabilities are that it was carried out between 1495 and 1498. It is one of the " key " paintings of the mature Renaissance through the way in which it combines the utmost vividness of drama—expressed, too, with a power of individualized psychology which is peculiarly Leonardo's—with a grand monumental effect. Almost immemorial tradition is broken with by having Judas no longer isolated on the near side of the table—an awkward arrangement introducing a *staccato* touch which offends the sense of rhythm of the mature Renaissance.¹ We may also here note that it has been remarked that the figures could not possibly find room at the table if they all sat down ; so here we find the mature Renaissance, with all its resources towards accurate representation, reverting, for the sake of a particular effect, to the " abbreviating " method practised by a primitive like Giotto in his architectural settings.

It was in the year 1503 that Leonardo, once more back in Florence, received from the Government the commission to paint a fresco in the Council Chamber which had been added a few years before to the Palazzo Vecchio. The subject chosen for this painting was the Battle of Anghiari, fought in 1440 between the Florentines and the Milanese ; as a military feat reflecting credit upon the arms of Florence, it was remembered with pride, and had indeed, soon after it was fought, been depicted many times on the fronts of Florentine marriage chests. In classifying *cassone* pictures of that type, we actually nowadays speak of a " Master of the Anghiari Battle." Leonardo was first to execute a cartoon of the com-

¹ I know of but one instance in earlier art showing Judas among the other Apostles—the very interesting Last Supper bearing a Giotto signature in the collection of Lord Bearsted in London. So bold an innovation one feels could scarcely have originated with any one but Giotto himself. Psychologically the figure is finely conceived, and the absence of a halo helps to stamp him as Judas at first sight.

LEONARDO DA VINCI

position, which was to be ready by February 1505, the artist receiving a fee of fifteen gold florins the month ; if he failed to complete the cartoon by the time mentioned he was to refund all the money that had been paid to him. Whatever reputation for dilatoriness Leonardo may have possessed by this time, he did deliver the cartoon within the stipulated period, and in the course of 1505 he commenced painting the principal group of the composition on the wall. But now the difficulties and delays began. According to an early informant, he was not content with the incomparable technical tradition then available for every one in Florence, but went back to Pliny for instructions how to prepare the stucco ground ; and this spelt disaster for the fresco, which very quickly began to show signs of decay. In May 1506 he obtained leave from the Florentine Government to leave the city for three months ; and it is unlikely that after this he ever did anything to the fresco again. He had but a very slight contact with Florence during the rest of his life, and in 1516, at the invitation of François I., left Italy altogether for France, where he died three years later. In the Council Hall the fragment of his fresco, such as it was, remained on the walls for many years, always being regarded with feelings of great admiration. There is reason to think that it was still visible in 1558 ; but soon after, it was sacrificed when the vast and dreary frescoes by Vasari, which now cover the walls of the “ Sala dei Cinquecento,” were taken in hand.

Of the further history of the cartoon of Leonardo, all we know is that the greater part of it was, with other possessions of the artist, left in charge of the authorities of the Hospital of Santa Maria Nuova in Florence in 1516, when he left for France ; and its ultimate fate is entirely unknown. Nor do we, contrary to what is the case with the cartoon of Michelangelo, possess even a description of the entire composition. But apart from the fact that there exists a number of marvellously spirited drawings by Leonardo of cavalry engagements and men fighting (notably in the Venice Academy, but also at Windsor and in the British Museum), which clearly must be connected with the Anghiari cartoon, we are provided with fairly plentiful data concerning the portion of the composition—known as the “ Battle of the Standard ”—which was actually carried out in fresco (Plate 64). Nearest to the original, though not the completest copy, is perhaps a picture in the Uffizi ;¹ and another valuable document is a picture in the Horne Collection

¹ I have to thank Dr. Giuseppe Fiocco for kindly obtaining for me a photograph of this picture. The very earliest reproduction of the *Battle of the Standard* is an unfortunately very slight drawing by Raphael in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford.

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

in Florence, in which the composition is rounded off by a landscape which probably bears no relation to Leonardo's cartoon. In addition there is a somewhat clumsy but very complete engraving by Lorenzo Zacchia dated 1558, probably done just after the destruction of the fresco had been decreed; and in the seventeenth century Rubens copied the *Battle of the Standard*—we do not know from what version—in a superb drawing now in the Louvre, which has become widely known in an engraving by G. Edelinck, which, however, shows the composition in reverse. When we further mention that we possess a number of drawings by Leonardo himself for individual figures and heads in the group, and also some good early drawings after details, it will be seen that the sum total of evidence with which we can operate in reconstructing the *Battle of the Standard* mentally is quite considerable.

When Leonardo began his work on the cartoons he had only recently left the service of Cesare Borgia, to whom he had acted as Engineer-in-Chief in charge of fortifications; and there is every reason to think that Leonardo had had a first-hand experience of part of the hectic campaign in which Cesare Borgia got involved in 1502. A long passage in his *Treatise on Painting*, describing how to paint a battle scene, also clearly shows that he knew what he was talking about; and the minute way in which he describes the reflection of light on the clouds of dust, the movements of the horses, the aspect of the fallen, and so on, is characteristic of that amazingly wide range of observation which was his, and which is reflected in the universality of his art. To the study of the horse Leonardo had always given much enthusiasm; already in the background of the *Adoration of the Magi* we find a number of horsemen with superbly drawn mounts in the most violent movement: and during his long stay in Milan he had given no end of thought and care to the great equestrian monument of Francesco Sforza, which advanced as far as the huge clay model of it, which was acclaimed on all sides as a perfect marvel of art. Leonardo was therefore particularly well equipped for the task set before him in the Anghiari cartoon, and no doubt found it extremely congenial. To convey as vivid a sensation as possible of the furious mêlée of the battle, of the blind passion animating the combatants—horses and men alike—was what Leonardo strove after; and in this he clearly was supremely successful. And in spite of this extraordinary vortex of limbs, the whole impression is anything but chaotic; this is largely achieved by the strictly parallel disposition of the big, simple forms of the two horses which enclose the main group. Little wonder that Rubens



PLATE 64. — AFTER LEONARDO DA VINCI: THE BATTLE OF THE STANDARD.
Florence, Uffizi. (Photo Gabinetto).

LEONARDO DA VINCI

admired this composition ; for it shows that combination of tornado-like movement with clarity of disposition which was a constant aim of his. Indeed, entirely apart from the Louvre drawing, the echo of the *Battle of the Standard* can be widely traced in Rubens' art ; nowhere perhaps more clearly than in his superb *Lion Hunt* in the Old Pinakothek at Munich, which, while in no way showing any slavish dependence on Leonardo's composition, could not possibly have come about but for Rubens' experience of the latter. And naturally the influence of the Anghiari cartoon immediately made itself felt among the artists who flocked to see it when it was placed on public exhibition ; while as long as the *Battle of the Standard* remained visible on the wall of the Council Chamber, even though the colours were flaking off, it was regarded as a thing which you could not possibly miss when going round the sights of Florence.

Chapter II

MICHELANGELO

The cartoon for the *War of Pisa* for the Council Chamber at Florence—Copies of the composition
—Benvenuto Cellini's opinion of it.

WHEN Michelangelo in August 1504 was commissioned to design a cartoon for a fresco, which was to occupy the wall opposite that in the Council Chamber on which Leonardo's fresco was intended to be seen, he was twenty-nine years of age. So far his main activities had been devoted not to painting but to sculpture ever since the day when his first master, Domenico Ghirlandaio, in response to an invitation from Lorenzo de' Medici, who was desirous of raising the standard of sculpture in Florence, sent him to be trained under old Bertoldo, the pupil of Donatello, in the academy of sculpture set up in the Medici gardens near San Marco. Of extant works there is indeed but one which may with absolute certainty be regarded as an example of Michelangelo's pictorial activity before he began the cartoon for the Council Chamber—the grand *Holy Family* in the Uffizi, painted for Agnolo Doni of Florence in 1503 or 1504. As a sculptor he was, on the other hand, already famous at the time, having produced a long series of works of which the *Pietà* in St. Peter's and the giant statue of David for the Piazza della Signoria are but the best known.

The subject of Michelangelo's cartoon was also an episode from Florentine military history, and was supplied by the battle fought on a hot summer's day in 1364, when a Florentine force at the Cascine, near Florence, defeated some Pisan troops, led for that matter by the John Hawkwood who subsequently entered the service of Florence, and as we saw was honoured by a painted equestrian monument, by Paolo Uccello, in the Florence Duomo. From the fact that this fight occurred in a war with Pisa, the cartoon is often referred to for short as the *Guerra di Pisa*; but the episode illustrated in it was not the actual engagement but the moment when the Florentines, having been surprised while bathing in the Arno, are hurriedly getting ready to meet the foe.

MICHELANGELO

After Michelangelo had been at work some months on the cartoon, he was, however, called upon to undertake a task which offered him, the born sculptor, scope for the realization of his innermost aspirations and boldest dreams. The reigning Pope, Julius II., a man of formidable temper and lightning decisions, was desirous of having his tomb put in hand while he was still alive, and he turned to Michelangelo for the fulfilment of this wish. Michelangelo accepted, and with that begins the great tragedy of his life, "the tragedy of the tomb." The latter was planned on a colossal scale, with a profusion of statues and bas-reliefs, and was to be placed, as an isolated structure, in one of the transepts of St. Peter's. Michelangelo set to work with great energy, going himself to Carrara in April 1505 to superintend the cutting of the blocks of marble, and proceeding subsequently to Rome, where he gave himself up whole-heartedly to the manifold activities entailed by his gigantic task. Meanwhile the Pope's interest in the tomb began to wane, and one day in the spring of 1506, when Michelangelo went to see the Pope on a matter of business, he was refused admittance by the Pope's orders; so, infuriated at this, he fled post-haste from Rome to Florence, hotly pursued by some minions of the Pope, who had not foreseen the possibility of such a development, and who had given orders to bring Michelangelo back wherever he might be found. At Florence, Michelangelo continued to disregard the Pope's summons to return, and meanwhile, in the course of the summer of 1506, finished the cartoon. He never got as far as even beginning to paint the fresco; for towards the end of November he went to Bologna, where he was reconciled to the Pope, immediately undertaking to model a bronze statue of him for Bologna, where he remained until the beginning of 1508. He then went to Rome, and there, very unwillingly, agreed to undertake the work which, as things turned out, came to occupy the central position in his whole production, though he himself felt that he was essentially not a painter—the painting of the ceiling of the Sistine chapel, at which he toiled for four years, entirely alone, without the assistance even, we are told, of a colour grinder. Writing from Rome to Florence in July 1508, he still mentions the cartoon, and asks that a young Spanish painter be given facilities to see it in the hall where it was kept under lock and key; but only a few years later the cartoon as such had ceased to exist. What actually happened is not quite clear; but the probabilities are that the individual sheets (*fogli reali*) of which it was made up began to come unstuck, and were eagerly seized upon by artists and collectors. There is some reason to think that the year

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

1516 witnessed the completion of the process of disintegration. Vasari, in the first edition of his *Lives* (1550), talks of the destruction of the cartoon in quite general terms; in the second edition he, however, attributes the destruction to the wilful action of the sculptor, Baccio Bandinelli, who, he alleges, was able to perpetrate his misdeed by obtaining access to the hall where the cartoon was kept by means of a false key. Whether this is more than a piece of slanderous gossip is, however, impossible to say. Traces of some of the fragments of the cartoon can be followed in Florence, Mantua, Turin, and Spain; but at the present time not one is known to survive.

As the cartoon remained intact for such a brief period, it did not, of course, give copyists the same chance as Leonardo's *Battle of the Standard*, which was to be seen on the wall of the Council Chamber for more than half a century. Indeed, copies of the whole composition must already at an early date have been something of a rarity; for it is said in Vasari's life of the painter and architect Bastiano ("Aristotile") da San Gallo, doubtless with some exaggeration, that Bastiano did a thing nobody had done before him, namely, copied the entire cartoon; and that he was very jealous of the copy, not liking to show it to anybody but his nearest friends. Vasari further states that he persuaded Bastiano to make a copy, in oil and as a *grisaille* of his copy, and to present that picture to Francis I. What has become of the first copy, or of the picture sent to France, we do not know; but most probably there exists some relation between the latter picture and the most valuable document bearing on the *Guerra di Pisa* now surviving, namely, an oil picture of modest size (30 by 51 inches), also a *grisaille*, forming part of the collection of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham Hall, for which it was acquired about the middle of the eighteenth century from the Palazzo Barberini in Rome (Plate 65). Judging by Vasari's description of the cartoon, the Holkham copy is not quite complete, as it shows no drummers or horsemen, but the nineteen figures which it contains doubtless made up the greater part of the composition; and since there exists no other record of the *Guerra di Pisa* of anything like the same extent, the importance of the Holkham version for our appreciation of Michelangelo's great work is easily understood.¹ Two drawings, one (in pen and ink) in the Albertina

¹ The Holkham copy has seldom been reproduced from a photograph, being largely known through Schiavonetti's engraving (1808); and I am therefore correspondingly greatly indebted to Mr. C. W. James for his good offices in obtaining Lord Leicester's kind permission to publish the accompanying illustration.



PLATE 65A.—AFTER MICHELANGELO: THE "GUERRA DI PISA."
Holkham Hall, Collection of the Earl of Leicester.



PLATE 65B.—LES GRIMPEURS.
Engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi (B. 487).

MICHELANGELO

Collection at Vienna and the other (in charcoal) in the Uffizi, also show a fair number of the figures of the composition ; they are, however, very slight and tentative, and neither of them is probably by Michelangelo. Various figures are also known from engravings by Marcantonio (Bartsch, Nos. 487-488 and 472) and Agostino Veneziano (Bartsch, Nos. 463 and 423).¹ Moreover, there exist some drawings by Michelangelo (in the Louvre, the British Museum, and the Ashmolean Museum) which may be regarded as bearing a relation to the cartoon ; they include some figures of horse-men not belonging to the section of the composition reproduced in the Holkham version.²

One cannot help wondering who it was that chose the subject for Michelangelo's fresco ; and one is inclined to surmise that the selection was inspired by the artist himself, for the incident depicted certainly offered the fullest possible scope for variations on a theme which appealed to him above anything else. A comparison between Leonardo and Michelangelo's compositions throws very strongly into relief the temperamental difference existing between the two artists. In Leonardo's composition the horses are at least as important as the human beings ; the facial expression of the actors in the scene is studied with great keenness ; and we may be sure that in accordance with the instructions of the *Treatise on Painting* the painter had intended to make much of the clouds of dust, the reflections of light on them, and so forth—in short, the universality of Leonardo as an artist is here most plainly exemplified. Michelangelo, on the other hand, was anything but a universal artist ; on the contrary, one may say that the one and only thing which interested him artistically was the nude human figure, and more particularly the male figure, out of which he extracted the most magnificent rhythmic harmonies of pose and movement. What a chance the scene chosen gave him ! At the sound of the drum calling them to arms, the cluster of men bathing becomes one seething mass of muscular energy ; and one realizes the delight Michelangelo took in depicting all these heroic nude forms in violent action. A tradition in Florentine art which can be traced back as far as Antonio del Pollaiuolo here received a most splendid consummation. But that is all ; facial expression does not

¹ As regards the famous Marcantonio engraving of 1510, *Les Grimpeurs* (Bartsch, No. 488), here reproduced, it should be noted that the landscape setting bears little or no relation to Michelangelo's composition, being copied from an engraving by Lucas van Leyden, *Mahomet and the Monk Sergius* (Bartsch, No. 126) of 1508.

² For a full study of the problems relating to Michelangelo's cartoon see the paper by Dr. Wilhelm Köhler in *Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der K. K. Zentral-Kommission*, Vol. I. (Vienna, 1907), p. 115 sqq.

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

interest Michelangelo particularly, though it is satisfactorily enough interpreted—but quite a large proportion of the figures turn their heads away from the spectator. As for the setting of the scene, it is indicated in the most summary fashion. It is true that there were some horsemen introduced into the composition—and incidentally this is a warning not to judge the Holkham version as a complete composition ; but it is clear that the mounted figures were relegated to the comparative insignificance of the middle distance of background.

As a fresco painter Michelangelo had yet before him such an astounding series of works as the ceiling of the Sistine chapel (1508-12), the *Last Judgment* in the same chapel (1534-41), and the frescoes in the Cappella Paolina in the Vatican, completed when the master was over seventy years of age. But a passage—interesting also from other points of view—in Benvenuto Cellini's autobiography may be given special attention in this connection. This is what he says :

“ Michelangelo depicted a number of foot soldiers who, the season being summer, had gone to bathe in the Arno. He drew them at the moment the alarm is sounded, and the men all naked rush to arms. So splendid is their action that nothing was ever seen of ancient or of modern art which touches the same lofty point of excellence ; and, as I have already said, the design of the great Leonardo was itself most beautiful and admirable. These two cartoons stood, one in the palace of the Medici, the other in the hall of the Pope. So long as they remained visible they were the school of the world. Though the divine Michelangelo later in life finished the great chapel of Pope Julius, he never rose half-way to the same degree of excellence ; his genius never afterwards added anything to the force of those first studies.”

Chapter III

LATER FLORENTINE PAINTERS OF THE MATURE RENAISSANCE

Fra Bartolomeo—Mariotto Albertinelli—Andrea del Sarto—Franciabigio—Rosso—Pontormo—
Agnolo Bronzino.

REFERENCE has already been made to the four Florentine painters who are contemporaries of Michelangelo, and while artistically not of the same rank as he, yet all count as figures of real importance in the history of the Florentine School—Fra Bartolomeo, Mariotto Albertinelli, Andrea del Sarto, and Franciabigio.

Of these, the painter whom we call Fra Bartolomeo, but who was known before he entered the Dominican Order as Bartolomeo di Pagholo, or more familiarly as Baccio della Porta, was born in 1475, the same year as Michelangelo. At quite a tender age, in 1484, he was apprenticed to Cosimo Rosselli, and it was in the workshop of his master that he met and made friends with Mariotto Albertinelli, by one year his senior, with whom he eventually was to enter into an artistic partnership. We find Bartolomeo di Pagholo definitely mentioned as an apprentice to Cosimo Rosselli when in 1485 the latter was painting his frescoes in the Church of Sant' Ambrogio; but Cosimo Rosselli was not the master who exercised the most decisive influence on the formation of Fra Bartolomeo's style. He doubtless learnt something from Piero di Cosimo, the right-hand man of Cosimo Rosselli, and it is clear that he received many impulses at the beginning of his career from Pietro Perugino, who toward the end of the fifteenth century resided in Florence for long stretches of time. The quiet grandeur of such a work by Perugino as his fresco of the Crucifixion, in the Church of Santa Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi at Florence (begun in 1493, finished in 1496), must have appealed particularly to an artist of Fra Bartolomeo's temperament, and in many details the early works of Fra Bartolomeo show reminiscences

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

of Perugino's manner. Finally, Fra Bartolomeo learnt a great deal as regards methods of composition and treatment of chiaroscuro from Leonardo da Vinci.

The great emotional experience of Fra Bartolomeo's youth was his intimate personal contact with Savonarola ; he was with him on the spring day in 1498 when the monastery of San Marco was stormed, and it is said that on that occasion he made the vow that should he escape unhurt he would become a monk. Certain it is that in the year 1500 he joined the Dominican Order, leaving unfinished his one great work of fresco painting, the *Last Judgment*, in the cloister cemetery of Santa Maria Nuova, on which he had been engaged for the past two years. The fresco was completed by Mariotto Albertinelli, and is now, in very damaged condition, in the Uffizi. It is a very remarkable composition, revealing Fra Bartolomeo's gifts as a designer in a grand and simple style ; and in the general planning, but especially in the disposition of the figures on each side of Christ along a foreshortened curve, it gives the clearest possible anticipation of one of Raphael's greatest frescoes in the Vatican, the *Disputà*. Altogether there can be no doubt that during the years which he spent in Florence (1504-8), preparing himself for the tasks which awaited him in Rome, Raphael felt very much the influence of Fra Bartolomeo, with whom Vasari says he was on terms of personal friendship ; and in the middle of this period, in 1506, Fra Bartolomeo resumed painting, and did not cease practising it until his death, which occurred but eleven years later. During this period, for part of which (1509-12) he worked in a definite partnership with Mariotto Albertinelli, Fra Bartolomeo did not, however, paint any fresco except a few comparatively unimportant ones (some Madonnas and an Annunciation) on the walls of the monastery of San Marco, and the country hospital of the Dominicans at Pian di Mugnone near Florence. His production in these years is chiefly memorable on account of a series of large altar-pieces, painted mainly for various churches in Florence and Lucca, in which he gives a somewhat abstract and theoretical but very impressive embodiment to his idea of grand monumental design. Not even a visit to Venice—whence yet he derived not a few ideas—could turn Fra Bartolomeo into a colourist, and his forms are sometimes of an exasperating emptiness ; but that there is real grandeur in his art it would be impossible to deny—he is very far indeed from being a mere Bouguerau. As for Mariotto Albertinelli, his was essentially a personality of much less heroic cut than Fra Bartolomeo's, even though in his *Visitation* of 1503,

PAINTERS OF THE MATURE RENAISSANCE

in the Uffizi, he achieved an effect of extraordinary grandeur. As he practised but little fresco painting—the one surviving example of his work as a *frescante*, apart from his share in Fra Bartolomeo's *Last Judgment*, being a *Crucifixion* in the Church of the Certosa at Florence, strongly reminiscent of the style of Fra Bartolomeo—there is no occasion to discuss his art further in this connection.

The relation between Fra Bartolomeo and Mariotto Albertinelli is in many ways analogous to that between Andrea del Sarto and Franciabigio. They were friends from early youth, and for a while to some extent worked in association; and although Franciabigio, born in 1482, was four years older than Andrea del Sarto, it was the younger painter who dominated his senior artistically. Andrea del Sarto is the most suave and accomplished academic that the mature Renaissance in the Florentine school of painting produced. Everything with him is melodious—his lines and forms, his colour, his composition; and while it is doubtless true that this melodiousness sometimes degenerates into banality, yet there is a fund of real strength and nobility in Andrea del Sarto which must not be overlooked. Of this, his magnificent drawings in black and red chalk offer perhaps the most striking proof.

The story of Andrea del Sarto's life begins once more with the familiar episode of the future painter being first apprenticed to a goldsmith, from whom he, however, soon passed to the studio of an obscure painter, Gian Barile, eventually finding a master of higher standing in Piero di Cosimo. Franciabigio was meanwhile being trained under Mariotto Albertinelli; but the two young artists, according to Vasari, met and made friends in front of the cartoons of Leonardo and Michelangelo, which they both copied; and it is more than upon anything else, upon the figure style of Michelangelo, that Andrea del Sarto founded his. Vasari goes on to describe how Andrea and Franciabigio soon afterwards set up a joint establishment, and did many works in collaboration; but although we can point to several cases, both early and late in their career, when they worked alongside each other—*per concorrenza*, as the Vasarian phrase is—no extant work is known which one could describe as a joint production of the two, on the lines of those executed when Fra Bartolomeo and Mariotto Albertinelli were in partnership together and even had a monogram as the special hall-mark of the pictures thus produced, except those of which Fra Bartolomeo was preponderantly the painter. Among the earliest works by Andrea del Sarto are five frescoes of scenes from the life of San Filippo Benizzi in the fore-

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

court of the Church of the Annunziata, the continuation of an enterprise which, as we saw, had been commenced many years before with one single fresco by Cosimo Rosselli. Though very vividly narrated, and in many respects of much charm, these frescoes (completed in 1510) are, however, still comparatively immature performances, and in several of them an affinity to the typical methods of the late Quattrocento in Florence is clearly marked. A few years later Andrea del Sarto painted two further frescoes in the same forecourt, representing the Adoration of the Magi and the Nativity of the Virgin (Plate 66); and the latter, which is dated 1514, is one of Andrea's most notable works. It is a composition which, so far as the purely anecdotic element is concerned, has almost its exact counterpart in one of the frescoes here commented upon by Domenico Ghirlandaio in Santa Maria Novella; indeed, the strictly Florentine character of the scene, both as regards the furnishing of the room and the costumes of the figures, is just as strongly insisted on by Andrea del Sarto as by Ghirlandaio. But the sense of rhythm with which the artist has developed the sequence of, and intervals between the figures, the rise and fall in the levels of the heads as the eye follows the succession of the figures from the back of the room to the foreground and then back again—this sense of rhythm stamps the fresco as belonging to a wholly different world of art from Ghirlandaio's. Every line flows with the utmost ease; the whole is pervaded by a sense of delightful spaciousness. Add to this the charm of the figures, in feature and expression, and the attractiveness of the scheme of colour, so gay and harmonious, and we have indicated some of the reasons which give this fresco its distinguished place in Andrea del Sarto's whole productions in Florentine sixteenth-century art.

Creating evidently with little effort, Andrea del Sarto was a very prolific artist; and leaving entirely aside his numerous easel pictures, we can only briefly refer even to some of his works as a fresco painter. Every visitor to Florence knows, or should know, the little cloisters of the barefooted monks, the Chiostro dello Scalzo, adorned with a cycle of monochrome frescoes mainly of scenes from the life of St. John the Baptist, and all by Andrea del Sarto except two by Franciabigio. Andrea del Sarto did not work here consecutively, but at considerable intervals of time, the latest subject, the *Birth of the Baptist*, dating from 1526; and in doing so he carried out a series of remarkable paintings, which both illustrate Andrea's development as a painter and go to make up one of the most charming examples of homogeneous interior decoration of the mature Renaissance



PLATE 66.—ANDREA DEL SARTO: THE NATIVITY OF THE VIRGIN. Florence, SS. Annunziata.



PLATE 67. — ANDREA DEL SARTO: THE MADONNA DEL SACCO.
Florence, SS. Annunziata. (Photo Anderson).

PAINTERS OF THE MATURE RENAISSANCE

which have come down to us. In 1520 he painted on one of the gates of Florence, known as the Porta a Pinti, a group of the Virgin and Child with the Infant St. John smiling, of which nothing now remains *in situ*, though the celebrity of the work is attested by numerous old copies. In the villa of the Medici at Poggio a Caiano he was employed with Franciabigio and Pontormo to decorate the big hall on the second floor, and painted there in 1519–21 a fresco of Cæsar receiving the tribute of Egypt, a magnificently decorative composition in a style which anticipates Paul Veronese, not to say Tiepolo.¹ To an even later stage of his career—1525—belongs the last fresco he painted for the Annunziata. It is a group of the Madonna and Child with St. Joseph, and known, from the sack against which St. Joseph is resting his elbow, as the “Madonna del sacco” (Plate 67). The fresco is painted in a lunette in the cloisters, at some altitude above the spectator; and Andrea has conceived the group as it actually would appear if seen from below, hence the precipitation of the lines of the architectural setting. Again, one must admire the consummate sense of rhythm with which the artist has managed to place the two pyramidal silhouettes so as to obtain an absolutely perfect harmony with the curve of the lunette; and the admirable way in which the shadow across the figure of St. Joseph is made to serve as a foil to the principal group, which is placed in full light and breathes a superb, indeed robust vitality.

Finally, the monastery of San Salvi just outside Florence contains one of Andrea del Sarto's most notable frescoes, the *Last Supper* (Plate 68). Placed, as usual, at the head of the refectory, the fresco is enclosed by an arch, inside which Andrea, in 1515, painted four medallions containing figures of the evangelists; the *Last Supper* itself was commenced in 1519, the year of Andrea's return from his brief visit to France, but was completed in 1526–27. Of any dependence upon Leonardo's composition there cannot be the question even for a moment; indeed, Andrea has here given a profoundly original and brilliant solution of the problem how to avoid monotony of effect in the long series of figures at the table, disdaining all such devices as to make a succession of groups of two or three units, and breaking the long line of the heads abruptly by making an apostle here and there get up—in spite of daring asymmetries perfect rhythmic balance is maintained. But at the same time it must be admitted that the whole impression is very melodramatic; and one has but to think of a com-

¹ The fresco was half finished when the death of Pope Leo X. in 1521 brought the decoration of the villa to a standstill; it was “completed” long afterwards in 1582 by Alessandro Allori.

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

position like Andrea del Castagno's *Last Supper* in Sant' Apollonia to gauge the difference between what is essentially a scenic conception and what is not. Before Andrea del Sarto's apostles, one cannot get rid of the impression that they are handsome—too handsome—cinema actors ; and *à propos* of this there is a curious story at the end of Vasari's Life of Andrea del Sarto which relates how he was commissioned to paint some outlaws on the façade of the Palazzo del Podestà in Florence—this was in 1530, the year before his death—and how he, fearing to gain the same sobriquet as Andrea del Castagno, *Andrea degli impiccati*, caused a pupil of his to be the ostensible painter ; but helped him on the sly so that the grim figures—now long since lost—became, in Vasari's words, most lifelike and natural.

As to Franciabigio, his chief work as a fresco painter is that charmingly narrated and gaily coloured scene, *The Marriage of the Virgin* (Plate 69), which he painted in the forecourt of the Annunziata at the same time as Andrea del Sarto was painting his *Nativity of the Virgin* in the adjoining bay ; and in comparison with the latter work, Franciabigio's fresco certainly still shows a marked survival of the spirit of late Quattrocento art. The fresco bears to this day the marks of Franciabigio's anger ; for, as Vasari relates, when he learnt that the friars of the Annunziata had uncovered the fresco prematurely, he mounted the scaffolding and destroyed with a bricklayer's hammer the face of the Virgin and some other passages. He turned a deaf ear to the repeated requests of the friars to repair the damage, nor could any other artist be found willing to undertake the job. Later in life Franciabigio, who is now chiefly remembered as the painter of several fine portraits, did not paint many frescoes. Having already before he painted the *Marriage of the Virgin* executed a fresco—strongly influenced by Albertinelli—of the Nativity of Christ in the Villa Dani at Montici near Florence,¹ and also the first of the frescoes in the Chiostro dello Scalzo, he subsequently painted two more subjects in the latter building ; and we find him, together with Andrea del Sarto and Pontormo, at Poggio a Caiano in 1521, painting a fresco of the Triumph of Cæsar. Moreover, in the refectory of San Giovanni Battista della Calza at Florence, he painted a *Last Supper*, rather a poor performance, which, in spite of Leonardo (whose composition it is yet clear Franciabigio knew), once more shows Judas in his time-honoured place, isolated on the near side of the table. The subject is repeated on the same lines in a fresco bearing the

¹ For a reproduction of this recently discovered fresco see O. H. Giglioli in *Rivista d'Arte*, Vol. XI. (1929), p. 212 *sqq.*



PLATE 68.—ANDREA DEL SARTO: THE LAST SUPPER. Florence, San Salvi.



PLATE 69.—FRANCIABIGIO: THE MARRIAGE OF THE VIRGIN. Florence, SS. Annunziata.

PAINTERS OF THE MATURE RENAISSANCE

signature of Franciabigio, in the former refectory of the Church of Santa Maria dei Candeli, now the Archivio Legionale of a Carabinieri barrack, in which there also are some other indifferent frescoes, all no doubt mainly the work of Franciabigio's assistants. Like Fra Bartolomeo, Mariotto Albertinelli and Andrea del Sarto, Franciabigio did not reach an advanced age, but died as early as 1525.

We now come to the three last masters of the Florentine School with whom we shall deal—Giambattista Rosso, Pontormo, and Agnolo Bronzino. Of these, Rosso and Pontormo were both born in the same year—1494. Concerning the training of Rosso we do not know very much; but the probabilities are that he was for a while an assistant of Andrea del Sarto, and Vasari also speaks of his studies from Michelangelo's cartoon. The earliest work by Rosso as a fresco painter now available is the *Assumption of the Virgin* (Plate 70), which is his contribution to the series of the Life of the Virgin in the forecourt of the Annunziata, over which Andrea del Sarto and Franciabigio (not to mention Baldovinetti) had been busy before him, and to which Pontormo, as we shall see, also added a fresco. Painted in 1514-16, Rosso's fresco is a performance of a decidedly rhetorical character, with a curiously exaggerated voluminousness of draperies in the figures of the apostles gathered round the tomb of the Virgin; but it bears nevertheless eloquent witness to the remarkable gifts of the young painter. Apart from an allegorical figure of Justice in the Robbia room of the Bargello, Florence no longer contains any other fresco by Rosso; and of those that he executed during his wanderings in Italy there only survives, in very poor condition, a couple of scriptural subjects, painted above Raphael's Sybils in the Church of Santa Maria della Pace in Rome; these, according to Vasari the worst thing that Rosso ever did, were ordered from him in 1524. Rosso's great chance in life came when in 1531 he followed the invitation of François I. to come and decorate the château of Fontainebleau; and he devoted the rest of his life to this task, ending his days, as a result of tragic complications, by his own hand in 1541. The entire length of the Galerie François I. was decorated by him with thirteen frescoes, enclosed by stucco frames, also the work of Rosso, showing a profusion of figures, garlands and architectural members, masks, etc.; above is a coffered ceiling in carved wood, and beneath the frescoes runs a superb walnut panelling, the work of the Italian sculptor Scibec de Carpi. The frescoes represent various mythological, allegorical, and historical scenes which have never yet been fully explained; and they have suffered greatly from repaint-

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

ing at two different periods—first under the reign of Louis XIV. and second (and worst) under that of Louis Philippe ; but even so the Galerie François I. remains one of the most impressive creations of the art of the high Renaissance, and it set an example in style of interior decoration which has been extraordinarily widely followed all over Europe.

Unlike Rosso, neither Pontormo nor Bronzino ever strayed very far or very long from Florence. Jacopo Carrucci, known from his birthplace as Pontormo, was, according to Vasari, of extraordinary artistic precocity, thereby disclosing an exceptional turn of mind which eventually was to develop into world-shyness and eccentricity generally. We are told that he passed from one noted atelier to the other in rapid succession, thus coming into contact with Leonardo da Vinci, Mariotto Albertinelli, and Piero di Cosimo, before becoming anchored—in 1510—for a considerable stretch of time with Andrea del Sarto ; and it is within the accustomed orbit of Andrea del Sarto's work at the beginning of his career—the Servite monastery of SS. Annunziata—that we come upon several of the extant examples of Pontormo's first work as a fresco painter. Easily the most important of these is the painting of the Visitation in the forecourt (Plate 71), for which payments are recorded in 1514-16. Taking up a motive—the centralized figure composition disposed on a flight of steps in front of a spacious apse—which Fra Bartolomeo a few years before, in 1512, had triumphantly established in Florence by his large *Madonna and Saints*, now in the Palazzo Pitti—and which he himself, be it here remarked, had probably largely derived from the Venetian school of painting—Pontormo has here created a work which, by its superb, free, and yet perfectly controlled rhythm of design, and by the noble and happy dignity of the characters, incontestably takes rank among the very finest manifestations of the Cinquecento spirit in Florentine art. In the colouring, and the types and forms, the affinity to Andrea del Sarto is certainly very marked ; but the typical Pontormesque note is already quite perceptibly present—very particularly so perhaps in the delightful figure of the nude boy, seated on the flight of steps in the foreground.

Some years later Pontormo painted a fresco which shows his individuality fully developed and marks the zenith of his powers. I am referring to the composition known as "Pomona and Vertumnus" (Plate 72), which between 1519 and 1521 he carried out in a lunette in the hall in the Medici Villa at Poggio a Caiano, where, as we have seen, Andrea del Sarto and Franciabigio were working at the same time. The space was a particularly awkward



PLATE 70. — ROSSO: THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN.
Florence, SS. Annunziata. (Photo Anderson).



PLATE 71.—PONTORMO: THE VISITATION. Florence, SS. Annunziata.

PAINTERS OF THE MATURE RENAISSANCE

one to fill, as it is pierced by a large round window ; but Pontormo has made play of the difficulty, weaving into the picture plane a most enchantingly lovely sparse arabesque of slender human forms and long branches of trees. A note of incomparable mutinous elegance pervades the whole, and yet there is not the faintest trace of affectation. The eye never gets tired of taking in the music of these lines—a music, by the way, of a type which we may continue to experience from countless drawings by Pontormo ; and the sense of a sunny happiness of existence, conveyed by the whole, is absolutely bewitching.

In after years, in the course of a long and industrious career which also resulted in many easel pictures of religious subjects, and notably a series of very fine portraits, Pontormo also painted many frescoes ; but so far as the evidence of extant works goes he never produced anything really comparable to the two early frescoes we have here commented on. A series of lunette frescoes in the cloisters of the Certosa near Florence (1522–25) are works of a strange, disquieting fascination ; but perhaps with one exception—the *Christ before Pilate*—they do not “ come off ” entirely. It is true that time has played great havoc particularly among the frescoes of Pontormo’s later years—gone are the decorations which he painted on the Medici Villas at Careggi and Castello ; gone, too, the large cycle of frescoes over the choir of the Church of San Lorenzo at Florence, over which he worked for the last ten or eleven years of his life, from 1546 to 1556, and which were completely destroyed as late as 1742. From the descriptions of these paintings, combined with the study of Pontormo’s drawings, we can now only get some tantalizing glimpses into the “ might-have-been ” of these frescoes.

Born in 1503, Agnolo Bronzino had studied under two painters—one of them the late Quattrocentist, Raffaellino del Garbo—before he, about 1518–19, joined the atelier of his one important teacher, Pontormo. He worked for many years as Pontormo’s assistant ; indeed, even after he had set up as a painter on his own, he returned to a subordinate position with Pontormo, when the latter, in 1536, was painting his frescoes at Careggi ; and when Pontormo died without having completed the series of frescoes at San Lorenzo, Bronzino—who, by the way, unsuccessfully claimed the position of heir to Pontormo—carried the work to a finish. Apart from two comparatively brief stays at the Villa Imperiale near Pesaro (1530–32) and Rome (1546–48), Bronzino spent the whole of his life at Florence, where during the long reign of Cosimo I. (1537–74) he held a great position in the

FLORENTINE FRESCOES

art world. He was predominantly a painter of easel pictures, in which alone he could achieve that enamel-like hardness and smoothness of pigment which goes so well with the character of his aristocratic and finished art, seen to perfection in such a masterpiece as his *Venus, Cupid, Folly, and Time* in the National Gallery, and in many a portrait of haunting beauty ; but he did paint quite a number of frescoes as well. There is an important series, painted over a long series of years (1545-64) in the chapel of Eleonora da Toledo in the Palazzo Vecchio, of which the *Brazen Serpent* (Plate 73) may be singled out for mention as showing a superb cluster of exquisite, marble-like nude forms. Of later date (1565-69) is a large fresco of the Martyrdom of St. Laurence in the Church of San Lorenzo, which was to have had as its companion piece another fresco, which Bronzino was prevented from painting through his death in 1572.

The *Martyrdom of St. Laurence* is not Bronzino's masterpiece ; but how much vital quality there remained in his art to the last may be seen by comparing it with any of the dreary frescoes with which Vasari, already more than a decade before, had begun decorating the Palazzo Vecchio. It would be unprofitable to follow the development of Florentine sixteenth-century fresco painting beyond this point. In the seventeenth century fresco painting in Florence had some happy moments, especially under the hands of Giovanni Mannozi da San Giovanni (1592-1636), a native of the very village in the Val d' Arno from which Masaccio hailed, and Baldassare Franceschini, called il Volterrano (1611-89) ; and towards the end of the century, in 1686, the great star turn among the ceiling decorators of the time, Luca Giordano, the *Fa presto* of Naples, came and did characteristic wonders on the ceiling of the great hall of the Riccardi Palace, in a *Glorification of the Medici Family*. On the other hand the eighteenth century, a great period of international art during which Florence is strangely barren, saw little Florentine fresco painting of distinction, as will be borne out by any one who has taken the trouble to look up the works of perhaps the chief *frescante* of the period, Anton Domenico Gabbiani (1652-1722), to whom art historians yet have occasion to be grateful for certain historical information preserved and transmitted by him. Looking back on the successive phases of art history which we have traversed, we may say, however, that there is no parallel anywhere to the sequence of great Florentine fresco painters from the end of the thirteenth to beyond the middle of the sixteenth century ; and who would make bold to calculate the full extent of the importance of their work for art ever since ?

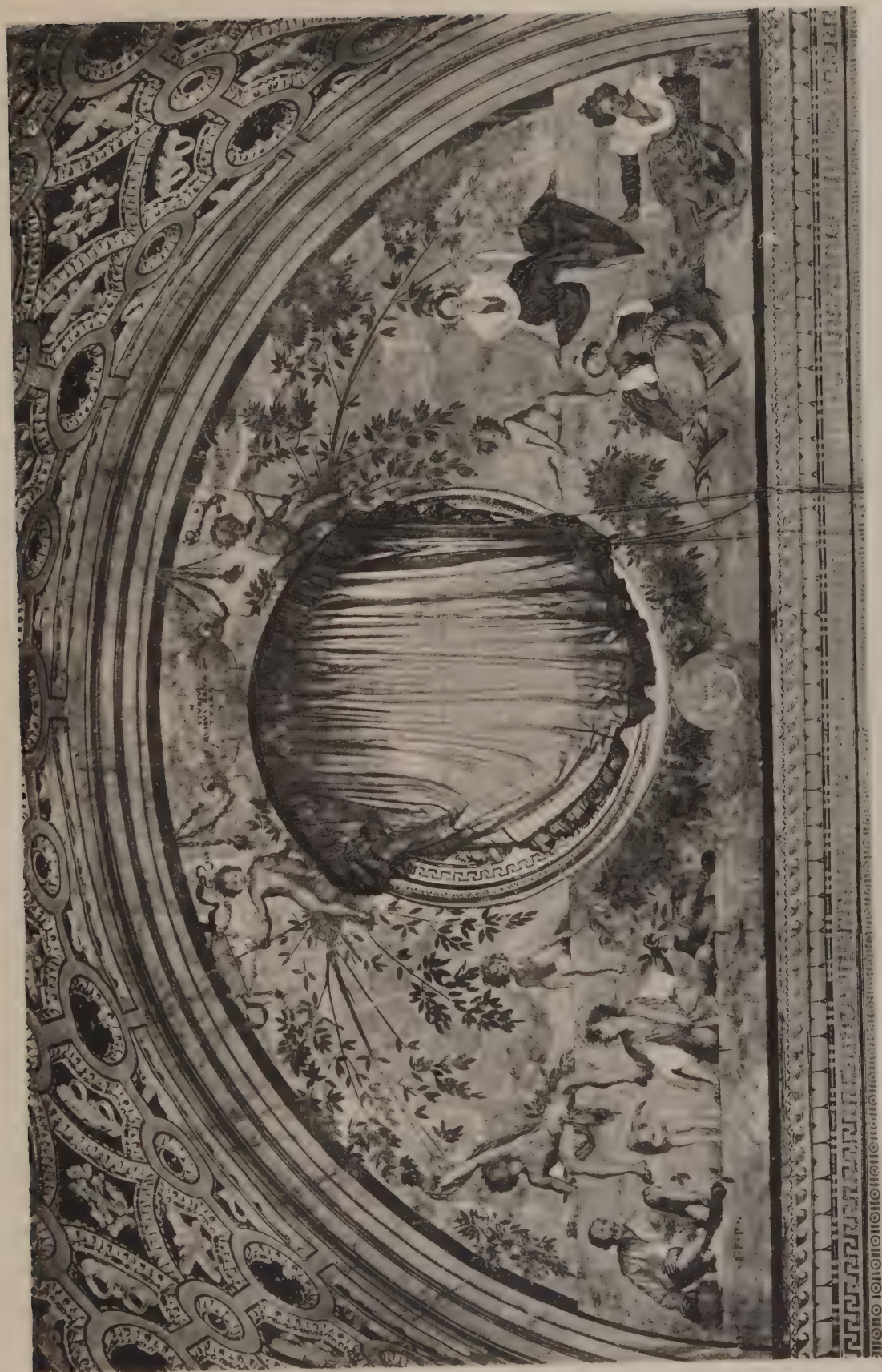


PLATE 72. — PONTORMO: POMONA AND VERTUMNUS.
Poggio a Caiano. (Photo Alinari).



PLATE 43. — AGNOLO BRONZINO: THE BRAZEN SERPENT.
Florence, Palazzo Vecchio. (Photo Brogi).

INDEX OF ARTISTS

AGOSTINO VENEZIANO, 115.
 Albertinelli, Mariotto, 106, 117-119, 122-124.
 Allori, Alessandro, 121, n. 1.
 Andrea del Castagno, 58 sq., 62-68, 75, 77, 89, 101, 122.
 Andrea del Sarto, 106, 117, 119-124.
 Andrea di Matteo, 62.
 Angelico, Fra, 54-58, 66, 70, 74, 77 sq., 80 sq.
 Anghiari Battle, Master of, 108.
 Antonello da Messina, 66.
 Antonio Veneziano, 37.

BALDOVINETTI, ALESSO, 67, 74, 77, 96, 98, 123.
 Bandinelli, Baccio, 114.
 Barile, Gian, 119.
 Bartolomeo, Fra, 106, 117-119, 123 sq.
 Bellini, Giovanni, 106.
 Bellini, Jacopo, 26.
 Bellinis, The, 59.
 Benozzo Gozzoli, 55, 58, 77-83, 85.
 Bertoldo, 112.
 Bicci di Lorenzo, 67, 84.
 Blake, William, 7.
 Boccati, Giovanni, 78.
 Bonaiuti, Andrea, 34 sq.
 Bonaventura Berlinghieri, 14.
 Botticelli, Sandro, 76, 85-94, 96-98, 101.
 Bouguerau, 118.
 Bronzino, 106, 123-126.
 Brunellesco, Filippo, 44, 48, 59.

CARPACCIO, 100.
 Cavallini, Pietro, 7 sq., 13, 20-24.
 Cennino Cennini, 31.
 Cimabue, 3 sq., 5, 8-11, 14, 63.
 Cosimo Rosselli, 85 sq., 117, 120.
 Cosmati, 7, 21.

DADDI, BERNARDO, 31 sq., 33.
 David, J. L., 25.
 Dello Delli, 61.
 Diamante, Fra, 71.
 Domenico Veneziano, 58, 62, 66-68, 72, 74, 77, 84.
 Donatello, 43 sq., 48, 55, 59 sq., 62, 101, 112.

EDELINCK, G., 110.
 Eyck, brothers Van, 16, n. 1.

FRANCESCHINI, BALDASSARE, 126.
 Francesco da Faenza, 63.
 Franciabigio, 106, 117, 119-124.

GABBIANI, ANTON DOMENICO, 126.
 Gaddi, Agnolo, 30, 35-37, 61, 73.
 Gaddi, Gaddo, 30.

(3,376)

Gaddi, Giovanni, 35.
 Gaddi, Taddeo, 30 sq., 35, 37, 39.
 Gentile da Fabriano, 39.
 Ghiberti, Lorenzo, 55, 59, 77.
 Ghirlandaio, Benedetto, 96.
 Ghirlandaio, David, 96, 99.
 Ghirlandaio, Domenico, 85-87, 89, 91, 96-101, 106, 112, 120.
 Giordano, Luca, 126.
 Giorgione, 53, 106.
 Giotto, 32.
 Giotto, 7, 9, 11-33, 36 sq., 43-45, 48 sq., 54, 63, 78, 99, 106 sq.
 Giovanni da Milano, 37.
 Giovanni Pisano, 43.
 Giulio Romano, 32.
 Godeman, 6.
 Goes, Hugo van der, 98.
 Goya, 65.

HUNT, WILLIAM HOLMAN, 83.

INGRES, 25 sq.

JACOBUS, 5.
 Jacopo di Cione, 33.

LEONARDO DA VINCI, 18, 64, 76, 102, 106-112, 114-116, 118 sq., 121 sq., 124.
 Lippi, Filippino, 47, 50, 86 sq., 92-96, 101 sq., 106.
 Lippi, Fra Filippo, 59, 66, 68-71, 79, 87-89, 92 sq.
 Lorenzetti, Ambrogio, 33.
 Lorenzo di Credi, 61.
 Lorenzo di Niccolò, 38.
 Lorenzo Monaco, Don, 39 sq., 44, 57, 69 sq.
 Lucas van Leyden, 115, n. 1.

MAINARDI, BASTIANO, 97, 99.
 Mannozi, Giovanni, 126.
 Mantegna, Andrea, 59, 76.
 Marcantonio, 115.
 Marchisello of Florence, 4, n. 1.
 Mariani, Francesco, 57.
 Masaccio, 26, 28 sq., 40, 43-53, 55, 58 sq., 64, 68, 71, 93 sq., 98, 101 sq., 106, 108.
 Maso, 32 sq.
 Masolino, 46-48, 51-53.
 Mezzastri, Piero Antonio, 78.
 Michelangelo, 76, 102, 106 sq., 112-117, 119, 123.
 Michelozzo Michelozzi, 55, 79.
 Millais, John Everett, 96.

NARDO DI CIONE, 33 sq.
 Neri di Bicci, 84-86.
 Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, 38 sq.

INDEX OF ARTISTS

ORCAGNA, ANDREA, 33, 99.

PAOLO UCCELLO, 58-66, 112.

Patch, Thomas, 39, 48.

Paul Veronese, 121.

Perugino, 86 *sq.*, 91, 117.

Pesello, 61.

Petrus Christus, 97.

Piero della Francesca, 36, 67, 72-74, 84.

Piero di Cosimo, 86, 117, 119, 124.

Pisanello, 39, 68, 81.

Pol de Limbourg, 39.

Pollaiuolo, Antonio del, 75-77, 88, 115.

Pollaiuolo, Piero del, 76 *sq.*, 88.

Pontormo, 106, 121-125.

RAFFAELLINO DEL GARBO, 125.

Raphael, 27, 83, 94, 109, n. 1, 118, 123.

Reynolds, Sir Joshua, 48, 94.

Robbia, Luca della, 16, n. 1.

Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, 83.

Rosso, 106, 123 *sq.*

Rubens, 110 *sq.*

Rustico, 4, n. 1.

"ST. CECILIA MASTER," 19.

San Gallo, Bastiano da, 114.

Scibec de Carpi, 123.

Segantini, Giovanni, 11.

Signorelli, Luca, 58.

Simone Martini, 34 *sq.*

Spinello Aretino, 38 *sq.*, 48.

Squarcione, Francesco, 76.

Starnina, Gherardo, 37.

Stefano, 32.

TIEPOLO, 121.

Titian, 106.

VASARI, 109, 126.

Verrocchio, Andrea del, 88, 107.

ZACCHIA, LORENZO, 110.

Zurbaran, 65.

INDEX OF PLACES

AREZZO, San Francesco, frescoes (Piero della Francesca), 36, 73 sq.
 ASSISI, San Francesco, Lower Church, 22, n. 2; Upper Church, 8; frescoes: (Cimabue) 9, (Giotto) 12-22, 28, 78, (Roman School, thirteenth century) 8, 13, 21.
 Santa Maria degli Angeli, lost paintings (Giotto), 13.
 BERGAMO, Morelli Collection, fragment of fresco (Alesso Baldovinetti), 75, n. 2.
 BERLIN, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, *Adoration of the Magi* (Domenico Veneziano), 68; *Martyrdom of St. Lucy* (Domenico Veneziano), 68; *Virgin in Adoration* (Fra Filippo Lippi), 79.
 BORGO SAN SEPOLCRO, Palazzo Comunale, *Resurrection* (Piero della Francesca), 73.
 BOSTON, Gardner Collection, *The Young Hercules* (Piero della Francesca), 73.
 BOVILLE ERNICA, church, fragment of *La Navicella* (Giotto), 22.
 BREMEN, Kunsthalle, *Madonna and Child* (Masolino), 51 sq.
 CAMBRIDGE, Fitzwilliam Museum, two predella panels (Domenico Veneziano), 68.
 CAREGGI, Medici villa, lost frescoes (Pontormo), 125.
 CASTELLO, Medici villa, lost frescoes (Pontormo), 125.
 CASTIGLIONE D'OLONA, church, frescoes (Masolino), 46, 52.
 CHANTILLY, Musée Condé, Book of Hours of the Duc de Berry (Pol de Limbourg and his brothers), 39.
 CHATSWORTH, Benedictinal of St. Æthelwold, 6.
 CIVITA CASTELLANA, cathedral porch, 7 sq.
 CORBIGNANO, Cappella Vannella, *Madonna and Child* (Sandro Botticelli), 88.
 CROUGHTON (Northants), church, *Last Supper* (English School, early fourteenth century), 64.
 DETROIT, museum, *St. Jerome* (Petrus Christus), 97.
 ETON, college chapel, wall paintings (English School, late fifteenth century), 67, n. 1.
 FERENTILLO (near), San Pietro, frescoes (twelfth century), 7.
 FIESOLE, San Domenico, *The Crucified Christ* (Fra Angelico), 57.
 FLORENCE, Academy of Arts (Galleria antica e moderna), altar-piece (Spinello Aretino, Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, and Lorenzo di Niccolò), 38; *David* (Michelangelo), 112.
 Badia, *The Virgin appearing to St. Bernard* (Filippino Lippi), 93.
 Baptistry, mosaics, 5; pair of doors for northern gate (L. Ghiberti), 59.
 Bargello, *Justice* (Rosso), 123.
 Cathedral, *Annunciation* (Domenico Ghirlandaio),

FLORENCE—continued

96; *Cantoria* (Luca della Robbia), 16; *Sir John Hawkwood* (Paolo Uccello), 61 sq., 64 sq., 112; *Niccolò da Tolentino* (Andrea del Castagno), 64 sq.
 Chiostro degli Aranci, frescoes (by a follower of Domenico Veneziano), 68, n. 1.
 Chiostro delle Oblate, frescoes (Lorenzo Monaco), 40.
 Chiostro dello Scalzo, frescoes (Andrea del Sarto), 120 sq.; frescoes (Franciabigio), 120.
 Horne Collection, *The Battle of the Standard* (after Leonardo), 109 sq.
 Monastery of Monticelli, lost *St. Francis* (Sandro Botticelli), 92.
 Monastery of San Marco, frescoes (Fra Angelico), 55-57; pictures for doors of presses (Fra Angelico), 74, (Alesso Baldovinetti), 74; frescoes (Fra Bartolomeo), 118.
 Ognissanti, *Last Supper* (Domenico Ghirlandaio), 97; *St. Augustine* (Sandro Botticelli), 89; *St. Jerome* (Domenico Ghirlandaio), 89, 97 sq.
 Palazzo Pitti, *Madonna and Saints* (Fra Bartolomeo), 124.
 Palazzo del Podestà, lost frescoes (Andrea del Castagno), 62 sq.; lost effigies of outlaws (Andrea del Sarto), 122.
 Palazzo Riccardi, chapel, frescoes (Benozzo Gozzoli), 79-81; *Glorification of the Medici Family* (Luca Giordano), 126.
 Palazzo Vecchio, frescoes (Bronzino), 126; frescoes (Domenico Ghirlandaio), 98; frescoes (Vasari), 109, 126; lost *Adoration of the Magi* (Sandro Botticelli), 89; lost picture (Leonardo da Vinci), 107; lost series of effigies (Sandro Botticelli), 89.
 Porta a Pinti, lost fresco (Andrea del Sarto), 121.
 Sant' Ambrogio, *A Religious Procession* (Cosimo Rosselli), 86, 117.
 SS. Annunziata, *The Trinity and Saints* (Andrea del Castagno), 65; cloisters, *Madonna del Sacco* (Andrea del Sarto), 121; forecourt, *Scenes from Life of San Filippo Benizzi* (Andrea del Sarto), 119 sq.; *Adoration of the Magi* and *Nativity of the Virgin* (Andrea del Sarto), 120; *Nativity of Christ* (Alesso Baldovinetti), 75; *Legend of San Filippo Benizzi* (Cosimo Rosselli), 85; *The Marriage of the Virgin* (Franciabigio), 122; *The Visitation* (Pontormo), 124; *The Assumption* (Rosso), 123.
 Sant' Apollonia, *Crucifixion* from Santa Maria degli Angeli (Andrea del Castagno), 65 sq.; frescoes (Andrea del Castagno), 63 sq., 122; frescoes from the Villa Pandolfini, 65.
 Santa Croce, altar-piece (Florentine School, c.

INDEX OF PLACES

FLORENCE—continued

- 1270), 14 sq.; Bardi chapel, frescoes (Giotto), 20, 27 sq., 48; Baroncelli chapel, frescoes (Taddeo Gaddi), 31; Castellani chapel, frescoes (Gherardo Starnina), 37; Peruzzi chapel, frescoes (Giotto), 27-29, 31, 33, 48; Pucci-Berardi chapel, frescoes (Bernardo Daddi), 31 sq.; Rinuccini chapel, frescoes (Giovanni da Milano), 37; Chapel of St. Sylvester, frescoes (Masaccio), 32 sq.; Chiostro Nuovo, *Scourging of Christ*, lost fresco (Andrea del Castagno), 66; choir, frescoes (Agnolo Gaddi), 36, 73; right aisle, SS. *John the Baptist and Francis* (Domenico Veneziano), 67; sacristy, *Resurrection* (Niccolò di Pietro Gerini), 39.
- San Giovanni Battista della Calza, *The Last Supper* (Franciabigio), 122.
- San Lorenzo, *Martyrdom of St. Laurence* (Bronzino), 126; lost frescoes (Pontormo), 125.
- Santa Maria dei Candeli, frescoes (Franciabigio), 122 sq.
- Santa Maria del Carmine, Brancacci chapel, frescoes (Filippino Lippi), 93 sq.; frescoes (Masaccio and Masolino), 25 sq., 46-52, 64, 93 sq., 98; cloisters, lost fresco (Masaccio), 47.
- Santa Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi, *Crucifixion* (Perugino), 117.
- Santa Maria Novella, *The Trinity* (Masaccio), 53; Chiostro Verde, *Isaac giving his Blessing to Esau* (Dello Delli), 61; frescoes (Paolo Uccello), 60 sq.; choir, frescoes (Domenico Ghirlandaio), 99-101, 120; Spanish chapel, frescoes (Andrea Bonaiuti), 34 sq., 95; Strozzi chapel, frescoes (Nardo di Cione), 33 sq.; frescoes (Filippino Lippi), 95.
- Santa Maria Nuova, lost frescoes (Andrea del Castagno), 67; lost frescoes (Alesso Baldovinetti), 67; lost frescoes (Domenico Veneziano), 67 sq., 72.
- San Martino alla Scala, *Annunciation* (Sandro Botticelli), 90.
- San Miniato al Monte, 4; chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal, frescoes (Alesso Baldovinetti), 75; frescoes (Antonio del Pollaiuolo), 76; sacristy, frescoes (Spinello Aretino), 38.
- San Pancrazio, *Resurrection* (Alesso Baldovinetti), 75.
- San Tommaso, lost altar-piece of 1191, 4, n. 1.
- SS. Trinita, Bartolini chapel, frescoes (Lorenzo Monaco) 40; choir, frescoes (Alesso Baldovinetti), 75; frescoes (Domenico Ghirlandaio), 99.
- Uffizi, *The Visitation* (Mariotto Albertinelli), 118 sq.; *The Last Judgment* (Fra Bartolomeo), 118; *Fortitude* (Sandro Botticelli), 88; *Primavera* (Sandro Botticelli), 91; *Birth of Venus* (Sandro Botticelli), 91; *Madonna and Child with Saints* (Domenico Veneziano), 68; Portinari altar-piece (Hugo van der Goes), 98; *Adoration of the Magi* (Leonardo da Vinci), 107, 110; *The Battle of the Standard* (after Leonardo), 109; *Holy Family* (Michelangelo), 112; *Guerra di Pisa* (drawing after Michelangelo), 115; allegories of Virtues (Antonio and Piero del Pollaiuolo), 88; altar-piece ("St. Cecilia Master"), 19.
- (near), Certosa, frescoes (Pontormo), 125; *Crucifixion* (Mariotto Albertinelli), 119.
- (near), San Salvi, *The Last Supper* (Andrea del Sarto), 121 sq.

FLORENCE—continued

- (near), Torre del Gallo, Villa della Gallina, frescoes (Antonio del Pollaiuolo), 76.
- (near), Villa Lemmi, frescoes (Sandro Botticelli), 91 sq.
- FONTAINEBLEAU, château, frescoes (Rosso), 123 sq.
- GHENT, St. Bavon, altar-piece (brothers Van Eyck), 16, n. 1.
- HOLKHAM HALL, Earl of Leicester, *Guerra di Pisa* (after Michelangelo), 114-116.
- LONDON, Viscount Bearsted, *Last Supper* (atelier of Giotto), 108, n. 1.
- British Museum, sketch book (Jacopo Bellini), 26; drawings (Leonardo da Vinci), 109; drawing (Michelangelo), 115.
- National Gallery, *Adoration of the Magi* (Sandro Botticelli), 88; *Venus, Cupid, Folly, and Time* (Bronzino), 126; fresco from street shrine (Domenico Veneziano), 67; *Madonna and Child* (Masaccio), 45; frescoes from Palazzo del Podestà, Assisi, 13, n. 2; fragments of frescoes (Spinello Aretino), 39; Wilton diptych, 39.
- Victoria and Albert Museum, *The Sermon of St. Paul* (Raphael), 94.
- Westminster Abbey, tombs of Edward the Confessor and Henry III., 21.
- MILAN, Santa Maria delle Grazie, *Last Supper* (Leonardo da Vinci), 18, 64, 108, 121 sq.
- MONTEFALCO, San Francesco, frescoes (Benozzo Gozzoli), 78.
- MONTEMARCIANO, oratory, *Madonna and Child* (Masaccio), 52.
- MONTERCHIO, cemetery chapel, *Madonna del Parto* (Piero della Francesca), 73.
- MONTECCHI, Villa Dani, *Nativity of Christ* (Franciabigio), 122.
- MUNICH, Old Pinakothek, *Madonna and Child* (Masolino), 51; *The Lion Hunt* (Rubens), 111.
- NEPI (near), Sant' Elia, frescoes, 6.
- NEW YORK, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *St. Christopher* (Piero del Pollaiuolo), 71.
- Pierpont Morgan Collection, *Giovanna Tornabuoni* (Domenico Ghirlandaio), 101.
- ORVIETO, cathedral, frescoes (Fra Angelico), 55, 58, 77 sq.; frescoes (Luca Signorelli), 58.
- OXFORD, Ashmolean Museum, drawing (Michelangelo), 115; *Hunt in a Wood by Moonlight* (Paolo Uccello), 60; drawing (Raphael), 109, n. 1.
- PADUA, monument to Gattamelata (Donatello), 62.
- Santa Maria dell' Arena, frescoes (Giotto), 12, 22-28, 31.
- PARIS, Louvre, *The Battle of the Standard* (by Rubens after Leonardo), 110 sq.; *Ædipus and the Sphinx* (Ingres), 26; *The Crucifixion* (Fra Angelico), 57; frescoes (Sandro Botticelli), 91 sq.; drawing (Michelangelo), 115.
- Musée des Arts Décoratifs, predella picture (Bernardo Daddi), 32.
- Musée de Cluny, *Madonna and Child with two Angels* (David Ghirlandaio), 96.
- Late Spiridon Collection, male portrait (Cosimo Rosselli), 86.
- PESCIA, San Francesco, altar-piece (Bonaventura Berlinghieri), 14.
- PISA, San Francesco, frescoes (Niccolò di Pietro Gerini), 39.
- Campo Santo, 25; frescoes (Andrea Bonaiuti),

INDEX OF PLACES

- 34; frescoes (Antonio Veneziano), 37; frescoes (Benozzo Gozzoli), 82 sq.
- POGGIO A CAIANO, Medici villa, frescoes (Andrea del Sarto, Franciabigio, Pontormo), 121 sq., 124 sq.
- PRATO, cathedral, chapel of the Holy Girdle, frescoes (Agnolo Gaddi), 36 sq.; choir, frescoes (Fra Filippo Lippi), 70 sq., 88.
- San Francesco, frescoes (Niccolò di Pietro Gerini), 39.
- Street shrine, *Madonna and Child with Saints* (Filippino Lippi), 95.
- RIMINI, Tempio Malatestiano, *Sigismondo Malatesta before St. Sigismund* (Piero della Francesca), 73.
- ROME, Lateran, fragment of fresco (attributed to Giotto), 22, n. 1.
- Santa Cecilia, frescoes (Pietro Cavallini), 7 sq., 20 sq.
- San Clemente, Lower Church, frescoes (c. 850), 6 sq., 26; frescoes (late eleventh century), 6 sq.; Upper Church, frescoes (Masolino), 46, 48.
- Santa Maria Antiqua, frescoes, 5.
- Santa Maria in Trastevere, mosaics (Pietro Cavallini), 7, 23 sq.
- Santa Maria Sopra Minerva, frescoes (Filippino Lippi), 94.
- Santa Maria della Pace, *Sybils* (Raphael), 123; frescoes (Rosso), 123.
- St. Peter's, *La Navicella* (Giotto), 22; *Pietà* (Michelangelo), 112; tomb of Innocent VIII. (Antonio del Pollaiuolo), 76; tomb of Sixtus IV. (Antonio del Pollaiuolo), 76.
- Vatican, lost frescoes (Agnolo and Giovanni Gaddi), 35; *Disputà* (Raphael), 27, 118; Cappella Paolina, frescoes (Michelangelo), 116; Sistine chapel, frescoes (Sandro Botticelli), 90 sq.; frescoes (Cosimo Rosselli), 85 sq.; frescoes (Domenico Ghirlandaio), 98; frescoes (Michelangelo), 113, 116; chapel of the Sacrament, lost frescoes (Fra Angelico), 55; oratory of Pope Nicholas V., frescoes (Fra Angelico), 55, 58.
- ST. PETERSBURG, Hermitage, "Benois Madonna" (Leonardo da Vinci), 107.
- SAN GIMIGNANO, Collegiata, *The Annunciation* (Bastiano Mainardi), 98; frescoes (Domenico Ghirlandaio), 97.
- Sant' Agostino, frescoes (Benozzo Gozzoli), 81 sq.
- SALAMANCA, Cathedral Vieja, frescoes (Dello Delli), 61.
- SIENA, Palazzo Pubblico, frescoes (Spinello Aretino), 38.
- SPOLETO, cathedral, choir, frescoes (Fra Filippo Lippi), 70 sq., 88.
- TIVOLI, San Silvestro, frescoes (c. 1100), 7.
- UTRECHT, University Library, MS. of the Psalms, 6.
- VENICE, Academy, drawings (Leonardo da Vinci), 109.
- San Zaccaria, Cappella di San Tarasio, frescoes (Andrea del Castagno), 63.
- VIENNA, Albertina, *Guerra di Pisa* (after Michelangelo), 114 sq.
- VITERBO, Santa Rosa, lost frescoes (Benozzo Gozzoli), 79.
- VOLTERRA (near), Spedaletto, lost frescoes (Sandro Botticelli, Domenico Ghirlandaio, Filippino Lippi, Perugino), 91, 94.
- WINDSOR CASTLE, Royal Library, drawing (Fra Angelico), 54; drawings (Leonardo da Vinci), 109.

THE END

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY THOMAS NELSON AND SONS, LTD.

84753060



84753060

